

THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF ALLOMORPHY IN  
CUZCO QUECHUA : WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO  
THE MARKING OF PERSON AND THE 'EMPTY  
MORPH' NI-

Anne F. Corbett

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of MPhil  
at the  
University of St Andrews



1994

Full metadata for this item is available in  
St Andrews Research Repository  
at:

<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>

Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:

<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/15505>

This item is protected by original copyright

The Nature and Causes of Allomorphy in Cuzco Quechua,  
with special reference to  
the marking of Person  
and the 'empty morph' -ni-.

by

Anne F. Corbett

A thesis presented  
in application for the Degree of  
Ph.D. in the University of St. Andrews

October 1992





ProQuest Number: 10171339

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10171339

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code  
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

Th B 404

## ABSTRACT

It is the purpose of this thesis to examine the reasons why Cuzco Quechua, an Amerindian language of Latin America, uses allomorphs, or multiple forms, to represent the minimal semantic units of the language (or morphemes). Starting from the initial hypothesis that the relatively minor role of allomorphy in contemporary Cuzco Quechua indicates the earlier absence of that allomorphy, the motivation for the introduction and retention of allomorphy is examined, as this relates to a number of characteristic types: Vowel Deletion, affecting final suffixes, Consonant Cluster Simplification and Vowel Dissimilation, affecting suffixes of the verb stem, and the potential allomorphy of the suffixes of Person, pronominal and verbal. Such allomorphy proves to be the result of attempts to contain new morphological developments within existing structural preferences of syllable configuration, and to limit the potential for semantic ambiguity, arising out of identity of form, or homonymy. The unanticipated result of such a study is the implication in all cases considered of an earlier process of affixation, leading to the formation of untypical morph-forms. Allomorphy is seen to be the by-product of compensatory change, introduced to modify the results of previous developments. In particular, the role of the 'empty morph', *ni*, of nominal Person is found to be implicated in the derivational history of all Quechua suffixes of Person, and its origin imputed to an early role of the verb *ñi-*, 'to say', used with auxiliary function. Based on the evidence of allomorphy, the conclusion is drawn that many of the suffixes of Cuzco Quechua owe their origin to syntactic forms of expression, indicating that the role of the syntactic construction in this typically agglutinative language was formerly more significant than is now recognised.

### Declarations

I, Anne Fletcher CORBETT, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 50,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

8th Oct. 92

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No. 12 in October 1982 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in October 1982; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1982 and 1992.

8th Oct. 92

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

9th Oct. 1992

9th Oct. 1992

### Copyright

In submitting this thesis to the University of St. Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and abstract will be published, and that a copy may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Acknowledgements are due to many people, especially those of my family and friends who have given up their time, sleep or patience in assisting me to complete the writing-up of this thesis. Special thanks must go to my husband, Martin, and to the girls, Catriona and Alison, who have had to share their mother's attention with this other 'baby'.

Thanks are due to my supervisor, Dr. Sándor Hervey, who graciously stepped into the breach following the sad and unexpected death in 1991 of my original supervisor, Professor Douglas Gifford. Mr. Tristan Platt also took over the joint role of supervisor at this time, as Director of the Institute of Amerindian Studies, University of St. Andrews (formerly the Centre for Latin American Linguistic Studies), which Professor Gifford himself founded. His contribution, too, is acknowledged here.

I acknowledge with gratitude the help of Mr. Leslie Hoggarth, who first taught me Quechua, and whose knowledge and love of the language have been a source of both information and inspiration. I hope that the contents of this thesis will not constitute an "analysis and paralysis" of what is the living language of a people very close to his heart.

Lastly, but far from least, I acknowledge the contribution of my late supervisor, Douglas Gifford, who was ever a source of encouragement and enthusiasm, and in whose fond memory this thesis is presented.

"Si algo buen se hallare enel, refierase a Dios Nuestro Señor, cuyo es. Y las faltas a mí, cuyas son." (Domingo de Santo Tomás, 1560)

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### page

1.	CHAPTER 1:	Introduction.
62.	CHAPTER 2:	Vowel-Deletion.
108.	CHAPTER 3:	Allomorphy and Homonymy
138.	CHAPTER 4:	Verbal Allomorphy
168.	CHAPTER 5:	Allomorphy of Person
204.	APPENDIX:	Suffixes of Person in Cuzco Quechua
205.	BIBLIOGRAPHY	

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

### Introduction

In an optimal linguistic system, no language would need to resort to more than one form to represent each morpheme. A system of communication which uses multiple forms, or allomorphs, without enhancing its semantic capacity thereby, is in this respect at least, inefficient: the more redundant forms there are, the more cumbersome becomes the load of elements necessary to operate the system.

I approached the subject of allomorphy in Cuzco Quechua (CQ) with one major assumption: that it had not been a feature of the language in its 'original' state. Relatively little allomorphy is tolerated in contemporary CQ, making it uncharacteristic of the language and therefore, I believed, probably innovative. I hoped that closer analysis would provide the justification for such a hypothesis. This it appears to have done, for in each case of allomorphy which I have studied, I believe I have found evidence of an earlier period when that allomorphy did not exist.

Having queried its originality, I questioned whether the current allomorphy of CQ had now become a preferred feature of the language, or whether it remained an undesirable piece of linguistic apparatus even today. Should the latter be proven, I wished to know why the phenomenon continued to be tolerated. However, to learn this, I must first discover why it was ever allowed to develop in CQ at all.

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

I believe I have been able to answer this question also, at least in part. Although the developments which marked the first steps towards allomorphy vary with each morpheme, these can be grouped into a number of basic types: Vowel-Deletion, Vowel Exchange, Velar and Postvelar Deletion, etc. Having examined such changes and their consequences for the individual case, I tried to establish what, if any, were the constraints within which the historical changes must operate and in what way these were liable to produce an allomorphic outcome.

I hoped that this would allow me to establish some of the ground rules for the allomorphy of CQ, and for the morphology of the language at a more general level. I was anxious to gather clues which might shed light in one particular area, in the expression of Person. The role of allomorphy here is probably greater now than in any other area of CQ morphology. However, closer study would reveal a much simpler underlying historical structure, to which the present system owes its origin. This was 'simpler' inasmuch as the number of significant categories of Person was fewer, and the morphemes typically without variation. The present allomorphy would have developed along with the emergence of new categories of Person, and of certain residual morph forms, left over after the demise of an earlier syntactic component used in this area.

Concerning the tolerance of allomorphy in contemporary CQ, I found that this depended on a number of criteria, amongst which the avoidance of allomorphy figured some way down the scale of priorities. Although a preference for the 1:1 relation of form to semantic content seems to be indicated for CQ morphology in general, it is apparent that this



## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

principle, whereby both allomorphy and homonymy would be undesirable phenomena, is in turn subject to further overriding criteria.

For example, a given historical change of morph-form, such as the deletion of a vowel, might be effected in a restricted number of environments, if the consequences of its full implementation would be considered less desirable than the allomorphy produced by partial implementation. In this case, allomorphy may be regarded as the lesser of two evils. The greater 'evil' might take the form of semantic ambiguity, or of an unacceptable consonant-cluster, etc.

Clearly this indicates a hierarchy, whereby the maintenance of the 1:1 relationship between form and meaning becomes secondary to the avoidance of ambiguity or of the unpronounceable. The motivation for the initial change of form, i.e. the deletion, would itself have a place in the hierarchy somewhere below these considerations, but above that of allomorphy, being prevented from taking effect where the former would be put at risk, yet allowed to proceed where this would violate only the lesser principle.

### Methods:

Because of the lack of written records for Quechua pre-dating the Spanish Conquest, my method of research has inevitably been reconstructive. Such reconstruction was both internal and comparative in nature, as each proved useful in its own way.

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

Taking a variety of examples of CQ allomorphy, I first sorted these into a number of small groups, wherever a uniting characteristic (usually of form) appeared to be in evidence: i.e. Vowel-Deletion, Vowel-Exchange, ni-Deletion, Velar and Postvelar-Deletion, etc. I have named these groups of morphemes retrospectively, using as labels the historical changes which I believe were instrumental in their origins.

Then, armed with my most basic assumption that all allomorphy in CQ is an innovation, I attempted to reconstruct a proto-form for each of the morphemes, using the current morphs as my basis. In each case, I have assumed that one of the present allomorphs was the historical derivative of the other, or at least of some historical antecedent of the same. Logically, this scenario was never a necessity, but it seemed to be a fair starting-point for an initial hypothesis.

Subsequently, my strategy has been to check such hypotheses against the available data, hoping at best to find supportive evidence, but at least profitable guidelines for their further refinement.

Up to this point, the manner of reconstruction was clearly internal. Hypotheses were devised using the data of modern CQ, not because this necessarily represents the best point of entry to the reconstruction of PQ, but essentially because it was in this dialect in particular, and in the motivation for its present structure, that my initial interest lay.

Naturally, a reconstruction based purely on internal characteristics lacks the advantages which a wider range of data might provide. I have

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

therefore relied also on comparative data from outwith Cuzco Quechua in the formulation of hypotheses, and more especially in the checking and subsequent refinement of those hypotheses.

At the same time, I looked within CQ itself for parallels which might have exerted, or at least shared in, paradigm pressure in the areas to be reconstructed. In the course of investigation, certain general characteristics of CQ were to emerge which had not been obvious in the beginning. These came to form a body of basic principles or weaker guidelines which might be expected to apply in future areas of study.

Such principles included norms of syllable structure, the maximum extension of consonant-clusters, and a preference for the correlation of morpheme- with syllable-boundary. This in turn would point to the innovative nature of the CCV-type suffix form, in practice often found to be of bi-morphemic origin.

In addition, a preference for the unambiguous 1:1 relationship of a single morph-form with a single distinctive meaning rendered cases of allomorphy and of homonymy uncharacteristic and therefore also probably innovative. However, this relationship was seen to be secondary in importance to the structural considerations indicated above, and to the greater criterion of semantic non-ambiguity.

It was to become apparent that where any historical change of form was implicated, this was more likely to consist of deletion, rather than an extension. The deletion itself might be the consequence of a change of

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

function, whereby an earlier morph-form became redundant. This was often found to have been the result of affixation involving loss of a former auxiliary verb, suggesting that the earlier syntactic component of PQ may have been greater than is generally believed.

Finally, the most practical guideline to emerge was the possibility that the perceived variant may very often prove to be historically the more 'basic' allomorph. This would spare much wasted effort spent trying to account for an apparently inexplicable development of a type  $*A \rightarrow B$ , where the change had in fact taken the opposite direction,  $*B \rightarrow A$ .

It is clear that many of these features were characteristic of CQ at an earlier period. While often fallen into disarray, they may yet constitute ideals towards which the contemporary dialect continues to aspire.

Note: the method of internal reconstruction in relation to Quechua has been criticized by Cerrón-Palomino (1987):

"Experience shows that such a procedure may be invoked where it is no longer possible to establish cognate relationships [between dialects] ... In the case of Quechua linguistics, which has clearly not yet achieved an exhaustive study of its different dialectal variants, the procedure *par excellence* is the comparative method. Nonetheless, this need not prevent one from seeking the 'shortcut' of internal reconstruction in certain cases." [my translation]

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

I believe such criticism is essentially a reflection of the success of the comparative method of study, which was not applied to the Quechua dialects before the mid-twentieth Century, starting with the major contributions of Parker (1963) and Torero (1964). There is no inherent reason why the component parts of a form of language at a given point in time should be less relevant to one another than to correlates in another dialect. Indeed, it may be reasonable to expect a greater level of internal consistency within a single system than between sibling structures - possibly several times removed. This, however, does not detract from the need for any proto-form to be compatible with patterns found in all its dialect-derivatives.

### Theoretical premises:

The domain of morphology may be described as that of 'word-formation' or 'word-internal linguistics':

"morphology accounts for the internal structure, or 'form', of words  
(typically as sequences of morphemes)" (Lyons 1970)

Although the 'word' may be a doubtful quantity in other languages, in Cuzco Quechua it is clearly defined, with characteristic stress-pattern, so that on this occasion the description is not inappropriate.

Within the scope of word-formation I have included three different types of entity:

morpheme

enclitic, or sentential morpheme

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

### auxiliary morph

While the morpheme would be almost universally accepted as the basic unit of morphology, many including the enclitic, the role of the 'auxiliary morph' here is not usually recognised.

### Morpheme:

The morpheme is the minimal unit of grammatical structure, endowed with both form and semantic content. I shall adhere to the following definition:

"morpheme: a linguistic form that conveys meaning and is not further analysable into meaning-bearing components"

Thus the morpheme has two aspects, meaning and form. It is with the formal side of the morpheme that I shall be most concerned.

As with any abstract concept, problems may arise when confronted with the raw data of language. In particular, the formal realisation of the morpheme may be difficult to describe - at times even non-existent!

Fortunately, most of the potential problems of morpheme-realisation do not arise in Quechua, where for the most part, the form of the morpheme is a discrete phonological unit, of linear nature. However, two such problems may have to be accounted for:

1. the simultaneous realisation of more than one morpheme,  
a relatively rare phenomenon.
2. the 'empty' realisation of the morpheme,  
occurring more commonly.

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

In CQ, the simultaneous realisation of two morphemes is most likely to occur in the 'transitional' verbal expression of Person. Historically, I believe such morphemes also had discrete form. The form of the morphemes concerned may need to be described contrastively rather than additively. Such a description is widely used amongst Functionalists to account for the form of the phoneme, the morpheme's phonological analogue.

The zero morph, or 'empty' realisation of the morpheme is described in detail below. Let it suffice for here that such a morph is only acceptable where it does not constitute the sole representative of the morpheme.

### Enclitic or Sentential Morpheme:

The enclitic operates at a level above that of the word, at phrase-level or above. For this reason, such an entity might be better described as a 'sentential operative', and excluded from a purely morphological description.

I have chosen to include such enclitics within the scope of morphology for several reasons:

1. because they have a formal place within the word-unit
2. because they fulfil the 'minimal' conditions of form and content applicable to the morphemes
3. because their realisation is related to that of other morphemes, in patterns of distribution and of form

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

### Auxiliary morph:

The term 'morph' was first taken up by Hockett (1947) to account for the realisational aspect of the morpheme. I would like to extend the use of this term to include any regularly occurring linguistic form with a definable role in word-formation.

In CQ, the 'empty morph' -ni- fulfils such a role with nominal word-stems, while the morph -n may possibly perform a similar role with verbal stems.

Such an auxiliary morph may have largely phonetic function, introduced, for example, to break up an unacceptable consonant-cluster produced by two adjacent morphemes. Its role may be distinguished from that of the epenthetic speech-sound by a lack of phonological motivation. The selection of the empty morph -ni- of CQ, as opposed to any other CV sequence is clearly not physiologically motivated in the same way as the selection of 'auxiliary speech-sound' in the forms:

cf.      [prin<sup>h</sup>s] 'prince' - \*[prin<sup>h</sup>s]  
         [ham<sup>h</sup>stɔr] 'hamster' - \*[ham<sup>h</sup>stɔr]

The motivation for the auxiliary morphs of CQ has been of particular interest to me. As concerns their form at least, this was to prove to be a 'linguistic leftover', the redundant form left over from an earlier morpheme when this lost its semantic function.



## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

I have chosen to isolate the empty morph from the morphemes with which it occurs, since to do otherwise (i.e. to offer repeated unrelated descriptions of the morph within the form of several different morphemes) would be to overlook a significant pattern, and thus a part of the overall structure of the language.

### Allomorphy:

In the simplest, most economical linguistic system, each morpheme would have only one morph-form. However, an element of redundancy will inevitably creep into the most efficient of human languages. Allomorphy refers to the situation where a morpheme is represented by more than one form, or allomorph. Allomorphy is less concerned with meanings than with the forms whereby such meanings are represented.

While most morphemes in Quechua combine a unitary semantic content with a single form, others may have two and occasionally more variants. The relation of a single meaning with several morph-forms is untypical of Quechua as a whole.

Choice of allomorph may be free, at the disposal of the speaker, or conditioned. In a conditioned allomorphy, selection of the appropriate morph is determined by some external factor, possibly the morpheme environment in which it occurs, or the phonetic context, possibly the age and linguistic conservatism of the speaker, possibly the speed and care with which he is talking. The motivation for the form of the allomorphs thus conditioned may be less obvious.

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

Allomorphy may arise as a transitory phenomenon, such as the interim period of co-existence during which a new morph form gradually takes the place of its predecessor. Unless some limit to its progress is imposed, such allomorphy has built-in obsolescence. e.g. Velar or Postvelar Deletion in Cuzco Quechua. Alternatively, it may become a permanent feature of the language (inasmuch as any living language can be expected to remain unchanged for long). e.g. Vowel-Deletion. As far as Cuzco Quechua is concerned, I believe that all allomorphy, transitory or otherwise, is an innovation, the product of historical change, and that it is possible to reconstruct an earlier period pre-dating the introduction of that allomorphy.

The following concepts require a fuller description here, as both are relevant to an analysis of CQ morphology and in practice the two are often confused.

The zero morph : /ø/

In Cuzco Quechua, it might be useful to recognise such a zero-morph to represent the concept '3rd Person' in verb forms of the narrative past, where the customary 'n' is absent:

[illegible]

rimasqa 'he spoke (narr.)' rima- + sqa + Ø  
'speak' narrative 3rdP.  
past

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

While this device may be justified to cope with an occasional unexpected lapse of form, the danger is clearly inherent of setting up endless superfluous zero-morphs in recognition of 'morphemes' which do not actually exist. For many words a plethora of additional meanings could be read into them, each represented by the intangible /ø/-form.

For example, we might also set up a zero-morph 'singular' to take account of the contrast between such forms as:

eg -nkichis '2nd Person plural (verbal)' and  
-nki '2nd Person singular (verbal)'

analysing thus:

... + nki + chis	vs. * ... + nki + ø
2ndp plural	2ndp singular

Or again, the familiar 'present tense', in reality unmarked:

cf. \*rima-ø -ni 'I speak (present)'  
rima-rqa-ni 'I spoke (past)'  
rima-sqa-ni 'I spoke (narrative past)'

The options are two: either to reject the 'zero morph' and say simply that in certain circumstances a given morpheme does not occur, or to retain the notion, taking care to avoid the excesses. Probably the best way to achieve this would be to restrict its use to morphemes of which /ø/ is not the sole variant. i.e. the zero allomorph might be tolerated, but not the zero morpheme.

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

### Zero-form versus 'unmarked':

Any so-called morpheme that is always represented by /ø/, cannot be ascribed true morpheme status, but is said to be unmarked for the language concerned, e.g. validation, a concept alien to Spanish or English.

Alternatively, a morpheme which is otherwise formally represented, may on occasion be unexpectedly absent, e.g. the expression of 'plural' in English, found only with count-nouns, but not with nouns such as 'butter', 'poverty', etc. Such nouns resist the imposition of any pluralizing morph, zero or otherwise. Moreover, however great a quantity might be involved, these would resist the use of a plural verb-form, also. Here, the very concept 'plural' is a-relevant, or unmarked.

I am, however, prepared to recognise a zero morph in the following case, where the semantic presence of the 'plural' morpheme, although not directly represented in morph-form, is implied in the remaining context: i.e. in the expression of English 'plural' with a noun such as 'sheep'. The fact that the concept is appropriate here is reflected by the use of a plural verb-form:

The sheep (sg.) is in the field.

The sheep (pl.) are in the field.

(cf. \*The butter are on the table.)

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

In Cuzco Quechua, the plural suffix is often omitted from verb-forms, where the subject's plural nature is otherwise indicated.

e.g.        paykuna rimashanku  
              and paykuna rimashan        'they are talking'

Unlike the zero-forms of 'plural' with 'sheep' (English), and of '3rd Person' with 'narrative past' (Cuzco Quechua), the formal realisation of the plural morpheme is optional here, implied in the form of the subject pronoun and therefore redundant elsewhere.

### The Empty Morph:

Whereas it might be possible to dismiss the zero-morph as a figment of the imagination, in the case of the empty morph, no amount of argument will eliminate the very real existence of recurrent stretches of speech-form to which no semantic content can be imputed. One such morph appears in CQ, -ni-. While linguists have been quick to acknowledge its lack of semantic value, they have been in some confusion over what to do with the remaining 'empty' form.

Some, bound by a theoretical principle of 'total accountability' (whereby no non-morphemic residue can be allowed in a linguistic analysis), have tried to squeeze the segment into a remarkable number of fully-accredited, content-proven morphemes. This begs the question of why the same form should appear so frequently in so many different morphemes, and whether it might not have a purpose or an identity of its own.

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

A principle of total accountability is universally acceptable, and desirable, inasmuch as any linguistic description should aim to give a complete account of a given language, without unexplained residue. However, the same principle can become unwieldy if applied in an inappropriate manner. Harris, for example, in an attempt to analyse the word 'boysenberry' into further components, found himself obliged to recognise the strange morpheme 'boysen', to accompany 'berry':

"only one of these parts ever occurs without the other part, we can nevertheless say that each part is a morphemic segment by itself. ... we do not wish to have any sequence of phonemes left over that is not assigned to one element or another. We want to be able to describe a stretch of speech exhaustively as a sequence of morphemes." [my underlining] (Harris, 1951)

Others have felt able to ascribe independent status to the form, as 'el morfo vacío', the 'empty morph'. Yet even as an empty morph, -ni- has its own function in Cuzco Quechua, and in other dialects. I intend to pursue not only the current role of this morph, but also its earlier history. I believe the morph formerly possessed true semantic function and not the purely formal role it retains today, and that in its origins, it may shed light elsewhere in CQ morphology, in the expression of Person, verbal as well as nominal.

Without dismissing the problems of analysis which undoubtedly exist, the difficulty would be alleviated rather were it to be borne in mind that all that is linguistic need not be semantic. It should therefore be acceptable to include the 'empty morph' -ni- within a description of CQ

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

morphology, by virtue of its auxiliary linguistic function in the area of word-formation.

### Homonym:

Lastly, I note that an identical morph-form may be shared by more than one morpheme. Such shared forms are designated homonyms:

e.g. /q/, representing both Agent and Genitive suffixes

/pi/, representing case suffix 'in', and pronominal 'who?'

This may happen without the possibility of mistaken morpheme-identity, for instance, where the two morphemes would not occur in the same environment. Nevertheless, the potential for confusion between identical forms with different meanings remains.

Homonymy is tolerated in CQ only as necessary and where there is no potential for confusion. Like allomorphy, it is not a preferred characteristic of the language, i.e. it is as undesirable in CQ to have one morph representing more than one meaning (homonymy) as it is to have a single meaning represented by more than one morph (allomorphy).

### Sources:

My sources of Quechua data are basically textual. The texts were mostly treatises on Quechua, grammars and vocabularies, especially where historical documents are concerned. I have also had access to some older dramatic works, including :

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

El Pobre más Rico, Centeno de Osma, [16thC], 1938 (ed. Farfán)

Ollantay, Anon, [18thC], 1973 (ed. Barranda, Miró, Salazar Bondy)

Usca Paucar, Anon, [18thC], 1951, (ed. Meneses)

However, by their nature, as works of literature, written moreover in rhyming couplets, these may be rather more artificial representations of the language than even the didactic texts.

In more recent times, edited transcriptions of actual speech become more readily available, although this too could scarcely be described as 'raw' data. The most notable and lengthy of those available to me were the two biographies contained in the volume Gregorio Condori Mamani, Autobiografía (ed. Valderrama and Escalante, Cuzco 1977), running to some 50,000 words.

Historically, the manuscript of Huarochirí forms a unique text,

Tratado y relacion de los errores, falsos Dioses y otras supersticiones, y ritos diabolicos en q̄ viuián antiguamente los yfols (yndios) de las Provincias de Harocheri, ... (ed. Argüedas-Duviols 1966, ed. Taylor 1980)

Although supposedly a record furnished by the inhabitants of Huarochirí, towards the east of the Department of Lima, the contemporary editor, one Francisco de Ávila, is believed to have superimposed his own native Cuzco dialect throughout the narrative, rendering it an 'unmistakably Cuzcoan-type dialect' (Urioste 1973). Thus, the text can supply some idea of the Cuzco dialect at the beginning of the 17th Century, from which period it dates.



## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

### Domingo de Santo Tomás:

The oldest known records of Quechua pertain, like Cuzco Quechua, to a QII variety (Torero 1964, and see 'Dialect Development', in this Chapter). Subsequently referred to as Chinchaysuyu, the dialect is now extinct. It was a central form, based around the Lima area, somewhat nearer the coast than Huarochirí. The texts I refer to are the work of the Dominican, Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás, a product of at least fifteen years' experience in Peru:

Grammatica o Arte de la Lengua General de los Indios de los Reynos del Peru. Nueuamente compuesta, por el Maestro fray Domingo de Santo Thomas, De la orden de S.Domingo, Morador en los dichos Reynos.

Valladolid, 1560 [Lima, 1951]

and Lexicon o Vocabulario de la lengua general del Perú...

Valladolid, 1560 [Lima, 1951]

Both works were re-published in facsimile form, as part of the Fourth Centenary Celebrations of the founding of the University of San Marcos, Lima, in 1951.

Although the texts represent another dialect, this may in fact provide evidence of a much earlier form of Quechua than one of similar date, written in the Quechua of Cuzco, would have furnished (the Cuzco dialect having diverged rather further from Proto-Quechua than the more conservative Chinchaysuyu).

Santo Tomás claims to describe the Lengua General of Peru. The precise identity of this language has long been the subject of confusion (see

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

later in this Chapter). Santo Tomás himself appears to have believed that while the language he described may not have been the mother-tongue of everyone in the Inca Empire, it could generally be expected to be understood throughout that area, although perhaps not by every individual living there. He speaks of the Indians' pronouncing the language "cada uno conforme a la pronunciacion de su propia materna y natural lengua" <sup>1</sup>

The texts were written for clerics, of whom a basic knowledge of Latin grammar, and of Nebrija's recently published grammar of Castilian was assumed. Such a linguistic background was to be valued more for its usefulness for explanatory purposes than as a mould for this Lengua General. Showing some consideration for his readers, the writer says that he has tried to keep his explanations simple, since "... este arte se haze para principiantes en la lengua, a los quales todo se haze dificultoso ..." <sup>2</sup>

Although he stresses the preliminary nature of his work, as "a fruit not wholly ripened", this was in fact to set the standard as the first known grammar of the Quechua language. He writes of

### STRUCTURE

1. - "each in accordance with the pronunciation of his native mother-tongue"

2. - "this grammar is written for beginners in the language, to whom everything seems difficult"

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

"la gran necesidad que ay della; y para dar alguna lumbre, a los que ninguna tienen, y mostrarles que no es dificultoso el aprendela: y a animar a los que por falta de la lengua estan couardes enla predicacion del Euangelio ..." 3

Santo Tomás himself shows a remarkable degree of linguistic awareness and a lack of prejudice, compared with some of the later writers:

"Pero la principal razon enesto de los nombres y hablas, es el uso: porque assí se usa y lo usaron los que primero hablaron la lengua y usan bien della" 4

He is not one of those who believed that Quechua must be seen to possess every tense and case distinction found in Latin in order to achieve credibility as a fully-fledged linguistic system:

"Y si enla latina no lo ay, no poresso, vale que en otra no lo ha de auer, ... y pues los que hablan bien en esta lengua lo usan, no ay porque no se aya de usar en ella" 5

-----

3. - "the great need which exists [for such a grammar], to shed a little light for those who have none, to show them that the language is not hard to learn, and to encourage those who for want of knowledge of the language are cowards in preaching the Gospel".

4. - "The fundamental principle in matters of words and speech, is usage; for so the language is used and was used by those who first spoke it and who speak it well."

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

### González Holguín:

Until the last century, most of the Quechua grammarians were clerics, writing with a similar purpose to that of Santo Tomás, if not all with the same degree of competence. Of like mind was the first known writer on the Cuzco dialect, P. Diego González de Holguín, a creditable linguist in his own right. González Holguín is the first known writer on the Cuzco dialect. He refers to the existence of previous writings, including works of his own, but these remain unidentified. The text of the Vocabulary is the most reliable:

Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Perú llamada lengua Quichua o del Inca, corregido y renovado conforme a la propiedad cortesana del Cuzco. Dividido en dos libros, que son dos vocabularios enteros en que salen a luz de nuevo las cosas que faltavan al vocabulario. ..."

1608

I have had access to González Holguín's grammar of 1607 only in a later edition:

Arte y Diccionario Qquechua-Español correjido y aumentado por los Rr.Pp. Redentoristas ... al que en 1608 [sic] publicó el Rvdo. P. Diego González de Holguín, s.j., Lima 1901

5.- "... if this ['ablative gerund'] is not found in Latin, that does not mean that it should not occur in any other language ... since the people who speak this language use it, there is no reason at all why they should not do so."

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

The editor, Juan G. M. Lobato, seems to have edited his text with a heavy hand, if his handling of the vocabulary, where I have been able to compare both texts, is typical of the grammar also. The vocabulary in its 1901 edition is a much-abridged version of the original, including many additional items from other dialects which are not always acknowledged.

The Vocabulary was reprinted in 1952. It seems that the initial intention was to have produced a facsimile, but that the physical condition of the original text was of insufficient quality to bear such treatment, with pages shining through one to another, etc. (Porras Barrenechea, Prólogo). Consequently, this edition is basically a transcription, much more faithful to the original text than Lobato's edition of the grammar.

The Vocabulary contains a great many examples of Quechua usage which may serve as a point of reference with which to correlate the assertions of the grammar. Although it is obvious from their semantic content that these are constructed examples, not directly quoted, (the subject-matter pertains largely to matters of Catholic belief and practice), the writer makes a strong claim to have checked and re-verified every word with native informants, and as such his data need not be considered artificial. The authenticity of González Holguín's material as evidence of Cuzco Quechua, as opposed to any other dialect, or of the Lengua General, is also attested by the author:

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

"yo no estoy persuadido para mí a que esta obra sea mía principalmente sino de los muchos indios del Cuzco a quienes yo he repreguntado y averiguado con ellos cada vocablo, y de ellos lo he sacado,"

Although the grammar is in some respects unreliable, its evidence need not be dismissed out of hand. With its many examples of Quechua usage, the Vocabulary provides a means of checking the authenticity of the assertions found in the grammar. I have therefore found it preferable to give more weight to the evidence of the unedited data found in the Vocabulary than in the Grammar of González Holguín, relying on the former source whenever conflict arises between the two.

Anon 1586 (ed. Aguilar 1970):

An earlier text, first published by Antonio Ricardo, was available to me in an edition of 1970:

Gramática Quechua y Vocabularios. Adaptación de la primera edición de la obra de Antonio Ricardo "Arte, y Vocabulario en la Lengua General del Peru llamada Quichua, y en la Lengua Española". Lima 1586.

6. "Personally, I do not believe that this should be described as basically my own work, but rather as that of the many Indians of Cuzco with whom I checked and double-checked every word, and from whom it is derived."

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

The authorship of this and other texts has sometimes been imputed to Antonio Ricardo. He was in fact merely the Italian printer commissioned by the Catholic Church to bring the press to Peru. The true writer remains unidentified.

Like the grammar of González Holguín, this too seems to have suffered from an unspecifiable degree of re-working by its later editor, Aguilar Paez, of San Marcos University, Lima. The text is also made unreliable by a high level of misprints. I quote it therefore, only as a text pre-dating that of González Holguín, and not for its own merits.

The 17th Century was a low period for Quechua linguistic analysis. A misdirected reverence for the established authorities meant that most new writers simply repeated what had already been written. For example, Middendorf, writing in 1890, could complain that a plethora of unjustified distinctions of tense, introduced initially by González Holguín, continued to be repeated for hundreds of years, until their irrelevance to Quechua would be acknowledged by Anchorena, 1874.

The hiatus was dictated in part by politics. Mannheim (1984) has attributed this lull to a climate of suppression, following the considerable success of Quechua literary material in fostering a spirit of nationalism and rebellion. Thereafter, new Quechua scholarship was not encouraged, and only the reprinting of previous works tolerated.

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

### Middendorf :

Following González Holguín, the most notable work on Quechua is that of Ernst W. Middendorf, of whose writings I have seen :

Gramática Keshua (trad. More) Madrid 1970 (Leipzig 1890)

Wörterbuch des Runa Simi oder der Keshua-Sprache.

Leipzig 1890 (transcript of 1964)

Middendorf was a medical doctor and a traveller, with a wholly different approach to Quechua from that of the priests, and a greater readiness to describe the facts as he found them, rather than as he would have expected them to be. The basis of his description is Cuzco Quechua, but where other dialects are known to differ, he makes this explicit. The description is fresh, and often imaginative as he seeks to explain his data, so that almost a century later, Parker could still describe Middendorf as the best authority on Quechua to date (Parker 1973).

### Ministry of Education, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos

The volumes produced in 1976 by the Ministerio de Educación of Peru, under the supervision of Alberto Escobar, serve as a useful basis in defining the standard varieties of Peruvian Quechua in more recent times. The relevant Cuzco texts are the work of Antonio Cusihamán G. :

Gramática Quechua : Cuzco-Collao, Lima 1976

Diccionario Quechua : Cuzco-Collao, Lima 1976



## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

In addition, I have relied on a wide variety of other texts as sources of dialect information, relating both to Cuzco and other varieties of Quechua, as found in Peru and beyond. A complete list is included in the bibliography.

### Reliability of text and author:

In summary, the reliability of textual evidence is variable. The texts themselves suffer from a number of defects, the scarcity of originals and their physical state of deterioration making it hard to obtain these even in modern copy. An ongoing problem has been the low standard of type-setting leading in many cases to an abundance of printing-errors which makes the original intention difficult to decipher.

A less culpable, but no less hazardous problem has been the lack of a standard orthography for the transcription of Quechua in any of its forms. This has been a particular problem as it affects the Cuzco dialect, with its triple system of occlusives, and velar vs. post-velar phonemes. Over the years, individual writers have sought to devise their own solutions to these distinctions of sound which were unnecessary when transcribing their own language, and which they themselves may not always have fully understood. In the early part of this century, such a proliferation of different orthographies was in vogue that it almost required the complete re-learning of the orthography for every text.

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

The problem was not really resolved until the standard set for Peru in 1975 by the then Government - Resolución Ministerial No. 4023-75-ED, 16.X.75. This orthography seems to have held sufficiently long to be likely to continue to do so for more than the foreseeable future. Elsewhere, the problem of the transcription of Quechua has been even slower to be resolved. At the time of writing the argument is in full flow as to the best means to transcribe the Colombian Quechua, Inga.

The personal limitations of the writers must be borne always in mind, their linguistic competence as well as their prejudices. Unfortunately, an exaggerated awe for one's revered predecessors has often led to repetition of errors continuing over many years.

Throughout the centuries, a desire for standardization has made its impact felt in several ways. In the earlier years, the perfection of the Classical Latin model (based in turn on Classical Greek!), was assumed and the model applied to Quechua, as to all other languages at that time, as a mould. The inevitable 'discovery' of similar structures in Quechua was taken to be proof of the integrity of that language, compared with the model par excellence, Latin.

Similarly, the Cuzco dialect was also held to be a standard form against which all other dialects could be considered deviants. In 1608 González Holguín referred to 'la propiedad cortesana del Cuzco', so even in the preface to the 1952 of the same text, Porras Barrenechea would still describe Cuzco as 'the heartland of linguistic purity' ('sede de la pureza lingüística').

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

The strange corollary of this practice seems to have been an attempt to standardize the Cuzco dialect itself, to make it more accessible to speakers of other dialects, eliminating any features peculiar to Cuzco Quechua which the writer thought might be an impediment to speakers of other dialects (Mannheim 1984).

Even today, the desire to frame Quechua in terms of a limited number of standard forms continues, as in the six standard forms described by the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos in 1976. At its best, the aim of such standardization would be to facilitate easier access to Quechua on behalf of one or another interested party. Parker, for instance, points out the need to maintain one or more standard dialects for the purposes of legal documents and similar texts, where in radio or local newspapers a greater freedom would be possible (Parker, ed. Escobar, 1972). My personal opinion is that the 'standard dialect' may turn out to be as elusive as the so-called 'average' man (and every bit as bland).

This is by no means to say that the text available to me was without value. Nonetheless, with the exceptions of Santo Tomás and of the Vocabulary of González Holguín, I have found the greatest value of most of the earlier text to be as a means of checking my own hypotheses, rather than as a primary source of data. Unreliable as a particular text might seem, it is unlikely that anything matching my own predictions would occur there simply by chance. Equally, I would not necessarily consider its absence to be proof that I was mistaken, although my hypothesis remained uncorroborated.

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

As with the examples found in the Vocabulary of González Holguín, it is often in the throwaway comments of the writer that the true nature of the data is unwittingly revealed, in the remark that the Indians prefer a particular form, or that one expression is considered more elegant: e.g. "pero algunas vezes los indios hablando entre si, no guardan todo el rigor dicho ..." (Sto. Tomás, Grammatica) <sup>7</sup>

Despite its drawbacks, therefore, the data available is serviceable, provided sufficient caution is exercised, and individual evidence correlated with the more general picture, like González Holguín, checking and rechecking the prescriptions of each source with one another.

### Hoggarth:

Finally, I am indebted to Mr. Leslie Hoggarth for his personal instruction in Cuzco Quechua. Mr Hoggarth lived in the Cuzco area for many years, conducting an intensive study of the dialect, and was finally responsible for the complete revision of the New Testament in Cuzco Quechua in 1969 (under the auspices of the United Bible Societies). His knowledge of the language has come to exceed that of most other non native speakers, and as such his contribution to my knowledge of Cuzco Quechua has been invaluable.

---

7. "but sometimes when the Indians are talking amongst themselves they don't keep strictly to these rules"

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

### History of the Quechua dialects

Cuzco Quechua is a member of the Quechua language-family, a widespread grouping of dialects, covering a particularly large area of the west and north-west of South America. Following along the course of the Andes mountains, it extends some way to either side of these, to include as many as five, and possibly six or more different countries, namely: Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Argentina, with the greatest concentration of speakers in the middle three. In 1974, Torero claimed its presence in Chile, also, although the evidence for this is doubtful. In 1987, Cerrón-Palomino went further, to include Brazil and even Paraguay amongst the Quechua-speaking areas. <sup>8</sup>

This widespread use of Quechua in no way represents an unbroken continuum. In Colombia and Argentina in particular, the evidence is patchy, while in Peru the dialects of the coastal region were already lost within a short period after the Spanish Conquest.

It has been estimated that there are approximately 8½ million speakers of Quechua, in one or another form, (Cerrón-Palomino, 1987). In Peru, the figure has been put at around 4½ million, constituting some 24% of

---

8. — In Chile, the evidence is of Quechua-speaking migrants. In Brazil, the relevant areas were formerly part of Peru. In Paraguay, the language is one of those in which the Jesuits sought to instruct the Indians in the Missions. (Cerrón-Palomino, 1987).

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

the total population. The percentage of monolingual speakers has dropped dramatically in the years since the Conquest, most of these being concentrated now in the southern Andean region, in the Departments of Huancavelica, Ayacucho, Apurímac, Cuzco and Puno. Castilian has much the higher prestige, and remains the essential key to open many doors, in employment, in education, in law and in politics. Torero (1964) put it thus:

"Ante la penetración del comercio y la industria moderna y el endurecimiento de las condiciones de vida en el medio rural, el castellano es la lengua de la supervivencia." ~

Native speakers of Quechua, particularly in urban communities, are often keen to encourage the use of Castilian in their families, and may deny the ability to speak their own mother-tongue, where the remotest claim to a knowledge of Castilian can be made. Census figures must therefore be judged in the light of this reluctance to admit to the status of Quechua-speaker.

In Peru, post-Conquest attitudes to the use of Quechua have been ambivalent. For example, the Chair of Quechua established in the University of San Marcos, Lima, by Viceroy Toledo (1579) survived for two centuries, only to be abolished again in 1781.

9. - "In the face of the penetration of modern business and industry, and the toughening of living conditions in the rural environment, Spanish is the language of survival."

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

Like the Incas before them, the Spanish could see the usefulness of Quechua as a lingua franca, facilitating communication with and amongst the native population, and - theoretically - enabling the Church to spread its message more effectively. Ironically, the corollary of this policy seems to have been the very retention of native values and culture, religious beliefs and practices, which many believed would never be forgotten so long as the old language continued to be spoken (Mannheim 1984).

Strenuous attempts were made to apply the Church's policy of reaching the Indians in their own tongue, including the establishment of a printing press in Lima, (on the orders of the Third Council of Lima, 1581-1583), to produce grammars, vocabularies and works of religious instruction in the native languages, and the insistence that all new priests must learn and pass examinations in Quechua. Although this ruling was eventually given the force of civil law, clerical practice seems to have fallen far short of its high aims, and complaints about priests still unable to communicate with the indigenous people were to continue for many decades (Mannheim, 1984).

In the mid-17th century, after much fluctuation, the tide finally turned against the native languages, with the decision of the Crown in 1634 to endorse a policy of Castilianization throughout its American territories. Thereafter, it was not until 1975 that Quechua was given official status by the Government of Peru, authorising its use throughout all levels of education and where necessary in legal disputes, and creating an official orthography, so that the written

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

language could be standardized. It is impossible to estimate what the ultimate success of such remedial linguistic policies may be, coming as late as they do, and still, it seems, lacking sufficient will to be properly implemented.

The will to change is lacking not only on the side of those whose first language is Castilian. A change of politics, without a change of mind amongst unemployed urban migrants, only too well-motivated to abandon their uneducated rural trappings for the sake of social acceptance, can scarcely be expected to undo the damage of so many years. However, it would be a mistake to be overly pessimistic about the future of Quechua. In rural areas, where the highest concentrations of monolingual speakers are found, the situation is rather different. In something of a backlash against the linguistic repression of the past and present, pride in the native dialects runs high, and in certain areas of Peru the number of Quechua-speakers has actually risen in recent years (Cerrón-Palomino, 1987). As Mannheim would put it (Mannheim 1987b):

"The present predominance of *Runa simi* [Quechua] in rural areas of the six southeastern departments of Peru suggests that reports of its imminent demise are premature, to say the least."



## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

### Dialect development

#### A Note on 'Dialect':

My use of the term 'dialect' in this context might be said to be a misnomer, as many of the so-called dialects of Quechua are mutually unintelligible. However, intelligibility is a relative quantity, an arbitrary and undefined point on a sliding-scale between mutual comprehension and the inability to believe that the speech of a given individual is in any way related to one's own. Rather than enter into subjective argument on each occasion, I have chosen to refer to all varieties of the Quechua language-family as dialects. As all variants are of equal linguistic status, for so long as no single variety is elevated to the role of standard, this use of the term should carry no derogatory associations.

For greater clarity, I have adopted approximately the same subdivisions of the Quechua dialects as set out by Torero (1964, 1974, 1983), combined with political criteria, as this seems helpful. Torero's classification reflects at once both current and historical relationships between the dialects, as present-day linguistic characteristics reflect different phases of earlier Quechua expansion. His main division of the dialects is into what he calls Quechua I and II (or Wáywash and Wampu Quechua), the former relating to the older, central Peruvian dialects, the latter to the more recent, peripheral dialects of Peru and beyond, including Cuzco Quechua.

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

Note: Parker's classification, devised at approximately the same time (1963), but apparently independently, is very similar, the two major groups being known as QB and QA, respectively. However, where Parker confines his study to the Peruvian dialects, Torero's analysis is more detailed and more extensive in its geographical scope.

The QII area is in turn divided into three subgroupings, based on linguistic characteristics: QII-A, found mostly toward the central Peruvian coast, in the Department of Lima, but also in the Department of Amazonas; QII-B, lying towards the north of the QI area, in the Departments of San Martín and Loreto, as well as Ecuador and the southern part of Colombia; QII-C, including both Southern Peruvian Quechua, distinguished as Ayacucho and Cuzco forms (the latter also occurring in Bolivia), and the dialect of Santiago del Estero, Argentina. (Torero 1964)

### Pre-Conquest expansion

Pre-Conquest Quechua expansion is believed to have taken place in two main stages, QI (or QB) reflecting the earlier phase, the spread throughout Central Peru from an original location situated somewhere in the central coastal region, in the present Department of Lima. The second wave included the areas of QII (QA) as well as others now lost, extending north as far as Ecuador and Colombia (possibly a post-Conquest gain), eastwards into Argentina, and in the south to Bolivia and even Chile. A third stage is sometimes added, to include an initial period of establishment in the original locus. (Parker 1963, Torero 1964)

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

Having been host to Quechua for the longest, it is the QI area which is the most progressive and dialectally diversified. The more recent areas of expansion, being less long-established, have had less opportunity to develop and consequently remain more uniform, and often more conservative than the Central dialects. As a result, the QII dialects, although located at a much greater distance from north to south, are generally closer linguistically than would be the case of a QI and a QII dialect, closer in geographic terms. Mutual intelligibility between QII dialects is also more likely than between dialects of QI. (Torero 1974)

### Dating Quechua Expansion:

It has proved difficult to assign a reliable date to these periods of expansion. Using the notoriously un-reliable techniques of lexicostatistics, Torero first ascribed the period of QI expansion to the 9th Century A.D. (Torero 1970), later revising his assessment so that this became the time of QII expansion, setting back QI in turn by some 400 years (Torero 1983). It is likely that this figure, too, will have to be modified.

Given that Quechua was unrecorded before the arrival of the Spaniards, this means that for any of the Quechua dialects, even a relatively 'modern' state can be observed only indirectly. Torero's readjustment of the initial date set for Quechua expansion by a full 400 years seems to represent a wide margin of error for so recent a period. However, no other linguist appears to propose a dating of Quechua which is likely to be more reliable than that of Torero.

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

Feeling less qualified myself than Torero to determine dates in such a manner, I will not attempt to fix a firm date to the proto-Quechua which I have been reconstructing, except to specify that it pre-dates the QI-QII divide, whatever the precise date of that split may have been. It most probably pre-dates also the relatively recent 'initial' period of Quechua expansion to which Torero and others refer. (Assuming that even the proto-form of the language was not born out of nothing, this initial period might in a sense be retraced towards infinity.)

I am conscious of vagueness in this respect. However, the essential purpose of my reconstruction was to demonstrate a period pre-dating the introduction of allomorphy, the precise date of introduction being of secondary importance to the fact that it took place at all. It would seem that the relevant period must be a fairly wide one, covering several stages of the language's development.

### post-Conquest expansion

Following the Spanish Conquest (1532), the use of Quechua continued to expand into many new areas, to achieve the far-flung distribution it has today. In other areas, where Quechua had been established previously, notably in urban centres along the Peruvian coast, the dialects of Quechua and of other native languages were rapidly lost, as the Indian population there was soon replaced by a generation of Spanish speakers, commonly of mixed Indian and Spanish parentage, not least as the result of epidemics of 'minor' European diseases such as measles.

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

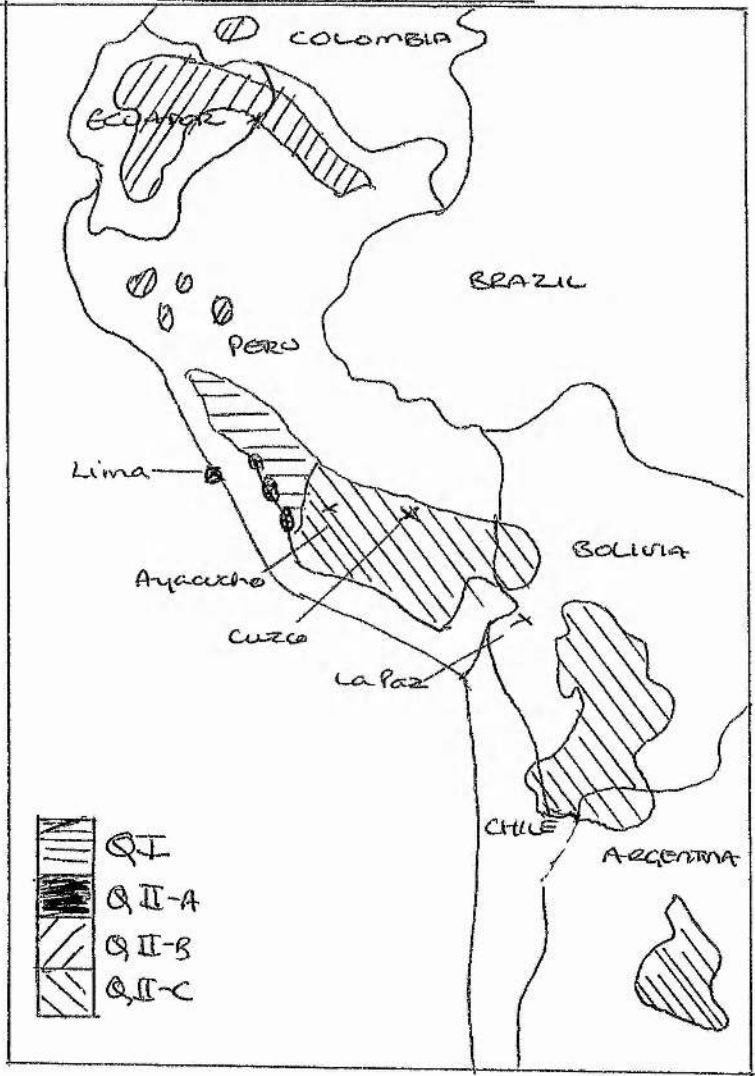
Post-Conquest expansion of Quechua was in part a deliberate policy of the invaders, Quechua being a useful tool whereby to keep the native population informed of as much - or as little - as was desired. It was also in part the unintentional result of the movement of large numbers of people, and with them their languages, into areas as far apart as Colombia, Ecuador, and Argentina, to serve as virtual slave-labour.

Similar movements of population were practised by the Incas, with more calculated purpose. Thus, whole communities (*mitmas*) would be transferred from one part of the empire to another, to teach the new language and customs to the recently-conquered, and to break up potential trouble-spots. Local nobility and their families were also taken to Cuzco itself, to learn to speak Quechua properly there. Records of these movements are sketchy in the extreme, and the consequences of such artificial manipulation of the linguistic geography of the area are to be imagined.

Thus, all dialects of Quechua may be retraced to a common source, Proto-Quechua, a language predating the first period of expansion, unwritten and detectable now only by indirect means.

CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

Distribution of the Quechua Dialects



## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

### Cuzco Quechua

The use of Quechua in Cuzco itself is relatively recent, being barely consolidated there at the time of the Spanish arrival (Mannheim, 1984). Contrary to popular folklore, therefore, Quechua is not 'the language of the ancient Incas'. The Incas, too, were incomers to the Cuzco area, originating, as legend would have it, from the region of Lake Titicaca, on the present Peruvian-Bolivian border. Their own language was most probably a member of the Jaqi family, perhaps Aymara, while the Inca nobility are said to have spoken some secret language amongst themselves, the identity of which remains a secret to this day.

The expansion of Quechua predated that of the Inca Empire (1440 A.D.) by several centuries, yet it became the official language of that empire only during the last fifty or sixty years of its existence (Torero, 1974). Official status was conferred on Quechua by the Inca Wayna Qhapaq, replacing Aymara, which had previously held this role :

"A este ynga, Huaina Cápac, se atribuye auer mandado a toda la tierra se ablase la lengua de Chinchay Suyu, que agoramente comunmente se dize la Quichua general, o del Cuzco, ..." "

(Fray Martín de Morúa, [1590] 1962 Tomo I, Cap. 35)

-----

10.- "This Inca, Wayna Qhapaq, is said to have ordered that the language of Chinchay Suyu, now commonly called General Quechua, or Cuzco Quechua, should be spoken throughout the land."

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

This 'lengua general', referred to since the earliest post-Conquest writings, indicates a variety of Quechua spoken over and above the local dialects, and used as a lingua franca. Its precise identity has always been somewhat elusive. Cerrón-Palomino (1987) has suggested that it may have consisted of not one, but several dialects of Quechua, namely those of the most recent expansion, Quechua II. The Incas, acknowledging the spread of the lingua franca as a *fait accompli*, picked on one such dialect, that spoken in their imperial city, Cuzco, and recognised it as the official language of their Empire, promoting its use for all purposes of administration and affairs of state. It was assumed that the dialect of Cuzco must be the definitive version of the *lengua general*, a role it had scarcely earned before that point.

Although they went to great lengths to ensure its proper instruction, settling groups of native speakers throughout the empire, and bringing others into Cuzco itself to learn the language, as described earlier, there is evidence that Cuzco Quechua was never really popular with the wider community and that its use beyond the Cuzco area was speedily and cheerfully dropped after the demise of the Inca Empire:

"Garcilaso habla de la corrupción constante del quechua en el lapso de los treinta primeros años de la conquista y glosando a Valera dice 'Esta tan corrupta que casi parece otra lengua diferente'. 'El día de hoy, agrega, se hallan entre los indios mas diferencias de lenguajes que había en tiempo de Huayna Capac'. " "

(Porrás Barrenechea, 1952)



## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

The Spanish, repeating the error of the Incas, also tried to enforce use of the Cuzco dialect as the one most 'proper', within their own empire. Again, the policy was not a popular one. While writers such as Valera might complain that the dialect was spoken in a distorted manner outside of Cuzco, those he criticized were to object in turn that the language of Cuzco was much too 'polished'. Torero refers to the complaint of a 17th century priest, Fernando de Avendaño, that Cuzco Quechua was too affected to preach in, and that speakers of the vulgar language simply could not understand it (Torero 1972).

Some simplification was required in order to ease such problems:

"Standardization of vernacular religious materials involved close attention to problems of translation. ... In the Quechua case, it also meant standardization of the language, at least for religious purposes... The Third Council [...decided] to use the Quechua of Cuzco itself, but in a simplified form, hoping that the work would thereby be more accessible to Quechua speakers from outside Cuzco, ... (Tercer Concilio Provincial 1584: f.74r.). They did so in part by omitting glottalization and aspiration from their orthography and reproved the Cuzqueños ..."

(Mannheim 1984)

11.- "Garcilaso speaks of the constant corruption of Quechua in the first thirty years after the Spanish Conquest, and glossing Valera says 'It is so corrupted that it almost seems to be a quite different language.' 'At the present time,' he adds, 'there are more different languages to be found amongst the Indian speakers than there were even in the time of Wayna Qhapaq.'"

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

Evidence of such attempts to 'standardize' CQ for mass consumption is difficult to assess. With hindsight, it may be impossible to determine whether the omission of any feature was innocently or otherwise perpetrated.

As the Romans took Latin to the furthest corners of their empire, so for many years it was assumed that Quechua had irradiated from the heart of the Inca régime, Cuzco. The reverse scenario, of a coastal origin of Quechua, with Cuzco Quechua one of the more recent forms of the language, received serious recognition only after the crucial twin publications of Parker (1963) and Torero (1964), although the idea was first put forward if only as folklore, by Morúa, as early as 1590 (Rojas, 1978).

In view of the confusion surrounding the role of the Cuzco dialect, the titles of many older treatises on Quechua can be misleading, and should not be accepted without examining the contents of their texts, also. The following titles demonstrate some of the anomalies thus incurred (my underlining):

Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Peru llamada lengua quichua o del Inca González Holguín 1608

Vocabularies of the General Language of the Incas of Peru, or runa simi\* (called Quichua by the Spanish grammarians) Markham 1908

\*the term of the native speakers for their own language.

Elementos de Gramática incana o quechua Núñez del Prado 1927

Gramática quechua o idioma de los Incas Raurich 1899

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

Cuzco Quechua is a dialect of Southern Peruvian Quechua (SPQ). It is distinguished from the other variant of SPQ, Ayacucho Quechua, partly through geographical criteria, but essentially by certain distinctive linguistic characteristics, given below. The total number of speakers of SPQ has been put at approximately 2 million (Mannheim, 1987a), while for the Cuzco dialect in particular a figure of 1¼ million has been suggested (Cusihamán, 1976). The latter figure does not take into account the many speakers of Cuzco Quechua who have now left the area in vain pursuit of a better life in Lima.

Cuzco-type varieties of Quechua are spoken in the Departments of Puno, Arequipa and Apurímac, as well as in the Department of Cuzco itself. The percentage of monolingual speakers of CQ continues to be highest in the most rural areas. However, the influence of the Spanish language is constantly making inroads, in terms of bilingualism and by virtue of its influence on the Quechua language itself.

As the language and vehicle of presumed cultural excellence, Cuzco Quechua has flourished both in Inca times and later, as exemplified by the calibre of the dramatic works handed down from those periods: e.g. Ollantay, Anon, and El Pobre más Rico, Centeno de Osma (16thC), Usca Paucar, Anon (18thC). A climate of nationalism and native rebellions during the late 17th to late 18th centuries must be attributed, at least in part, to the flourishing of Quechua literature during the same period.

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

Myths about the purity, etc. of Cuzco Quechua abound, testimony to the superior linguistic status with which it has been credited :

"El quechua se perfecciona y se adoba de elegancia y adquiere categoría literaria en el Cuzco imperial, sede matriz de la pureza idiomática y donde la lengua se flexibiliza y renueva buscando todas las posibilidades artísticas depositadas en ella."

(Porras Barrenechea 1952, on 17th century Cuzco Quechua)<sup>12</sup>

Despite being so recently established in the Cuzco area at the time of the Conquest, the variety of Quechua spoken there has already undergone significant change, which can be seen by comparing the evidence of González Holguín (1607, 1608) with more modern descriptions. Middendorf ([1890] 1974) quotes a number of these: e.g. genitive q and accusative ta, in postvocalic position, were formerly p and cta, respectively, while the plural Possessor Person suffixes for First Person (Inclusive) and Second Person, now nchis and nquichis, were formerly nchic and nquichic.

Middendorf indicates that most of the changes seem to have been effected since the mid-17th century. Compared with modern Cuzco Quechua, the dialect described by González Holguín is closer to Ayacucho Quechua, showing this to be the older, and more conservative of the two forms.

-----

12. - "Quechua was perfected, acquiring elegance and taking on literary standing in imperial Cuzco, the heartland of linguistic purity, and the place where the language became fresh and supple, searching out every artistic opportunity stored up within it."

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

As observed before, the Cuzco dialect is of relatively recent origin. Although the precise identity of the languages which preceded Quechua in the Cuzco dialect-area is uncertain, it is known that they included amongst others Puquina and Aymara (Rojas, 1978). Of these, Aymara was probably the latest antecedent, and continues to be spoken in a large part of the Peruvian Altiplano, although more commonly associated with neighbouring Bolivia. In 1620 the bishop of Arequipa felt that so many different languages were spoken in Cuzco and in Arequipa that to teach the Indians in Spanish was the only viable option (Mannheim 1987b).

The effects of this multilingual substrate in shaping the form of Quechua spoken in the Cuzco area are undeniable. Cuzco Quechua has a number of distinctive characteristics, not found in other dialects. Most prominent is the three-tier system of stop consonants, such that for each of the five occlusives a range of three variants exists, giving a total of fifteen such consonants:

	<u>bilabial</u>	<u>alveolar</u>	<u>palatal</u>	<u>velar</u>	<u>postvelar</u>
simple	p	t	č	k	q
glottalised	p'	t'	č'	k'	q'
aspirate	p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	č <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	q <sup>h</sup>

The use of glottalization and aspiration in other Quechua dialects is almost unknown, although there is limited evidence of aspiration in Ecuador Highland Quechua (Lombeida-Naranjo, 1976). In contrast, these features are a well-integrated part of the phoneme-system of Aymara. Despite some attempt to link the two languages genetically, (e.g. Orr and Longacre, 'Proto-Quechumaran' 1968), it is likely that the aspirated

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

and glottal features of Cuzco Quechua were acquired as the result of long-term contact between speakers of the two languages, rendering the latter close neighbours, but not relatives (Hardman, Vásquez and Yapita, 1988).

Although all dialects of Quechua are agglutinative, it is the dialects of QI and QII-C which carry this potential for suffixation further than the rest. However, in SPQ the number of such suffixes and the use made of these is much greater than in any other dialect I have found, leaving varieties such as the northern Inga (Colombia), and Ecuadorean Quechua, far behind.

With such distinctive characteristics in mind, it is surprising that for many centuries the Cuzco dialect should have been mistaken for the 'lengua general' which is understood to have been known and used throughout the Quechua-speaking area.

### Cuzco Quechua Morphology

The structure of Cuzco Quechua is essentially agglutinative. The word is composed of a root-morpheme, nominal or verbal, usually with at least one but often four, five or more affixes following the root.

While nominal roots can occur alone, verbal roots are always bound forms. A small number of morphemes, sometimes referred to as particles, occur independently and cannot have other morphemes affixed to them.

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

These often have the role of conjunctions or adverbials, or give added emphasis: e.g. *ichaqa* 'however', *riki* 'indeed, really', *ari* 'yes, indeed'.

Suffixes fall into two categories, those which are exclusive to nominal or verbal roots (e.g. case suffixes or verb-stem affixes) and those which may occur with all word-types, the so-called 'enclitics'. These usually follow any other suffixes in the same word. Their function operates beyond that of the single word to which they are affixed, and may be related to the entire phrase or even sentence of which that word is a part.

A number of root-morphemes have both nominal and verbal function. These are commonly listed in dictionaries as separate items:

e.g. perqa - n. - 'a wall' e.g. perqata rikuni.  
'I see the wall.'  
perqa- - vb. - 'to build a wall' e.g. perqakushani.  
'I am building myself a wall'

Other than this, a nominal or verbal suffix, in order to be used with a root of the other denomination, normally requires the use of a converting morpheme, nominaliser or verbaliser, to produce a stem compatible with the appropriate suffix.

e. g. (a) llank'a- 'to work' - verb  
+ -q 'Agent' - nominaliser  
> llank'aq 'a worker' - noun / nominal form

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

- (b) puñu- 'to sleep' - verb  
+ -na 'place of ---ing' - nominaliser  
> puñuna 'a sleeping place, bed' - noun

- (c) wasi 'house' - noun  
+ -cha- 'to make' - verbaliser  
> wasicha- 'to make a house' - verbal  
+ -y infinitive - nominaliser  
> wasi-cha-y 'house-building' - infinitive, nominalised form

cf. wasi-ta munan 'he wants a house' - nom.root + nom.suffix

wasi-cha-ku-n 'he builds himself a house'

- nom.root + verbaliser + vb.stem.suff. + verbal Person suffix

wasi-cha-y-ta munan 'he wants to build a house'

- nom.root + verbaliser + nominaliser + nominal case suffix

A few suffixes have an ambivalent role, e.g. -lla- ('limitative', Cusihamán 1976), covering a range of meanings, including diminutive, adverbial, politeness and sometimes, apparently, euphonic. The distribution pattern of this suffix is particularly free, and it may be affixed at several points of the stem, nominal or verbal.

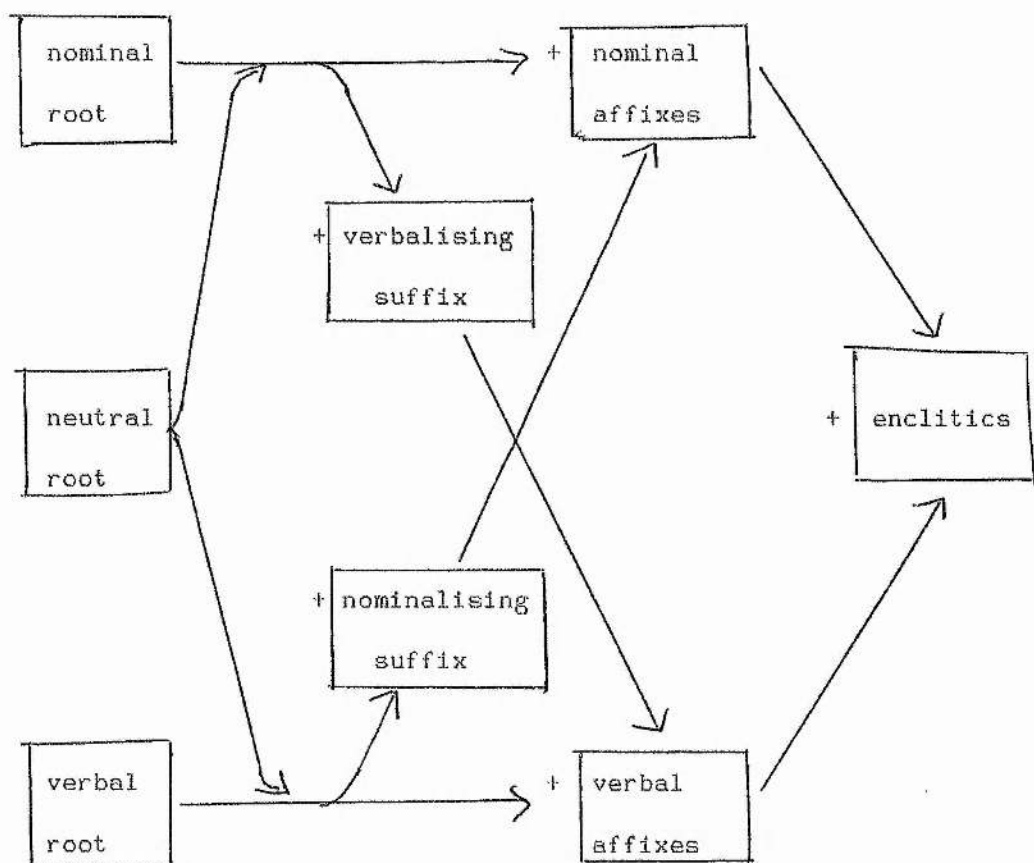
The highest concentration of suffixes lies in the area of the verb, although the range of nominal case suffixes is also extensive. As well as width of range, the advanced combinatory capacity of these adverbial suffixes lends the Cuzco dialect an enhanced expressive potential which is one of its greatest assets.



## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

These, along with a colourful range of independent expletive forms, <sup>14</sup> constitute the morpheme-types found in Cuzco Quechua. I have schematized them as follows, excluding the independent morphemes:

Cuzco Quechua word-composition



14. - "Quechua phonetics lends itself to arrogant expressions, to curses and threats. When the Spanish found themselves surrounded by the Indians at Vilcacunga, during Pizarro's march to Cuzco, they were unable to understand the Indians' language, but observed that they directed 'bad language' at them, '- from the sound of it.'" [m.t.] (Porrás B., 1952)

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

### The 'empty morph', -ni-:

The 'empty morph', -ni-, is an enigmatic form, associated with the allomorphy of certain nominal suffixes, intervening where one of these would otherwise immediately follow a consonant-final stem:

e.g. yawar-ni-y 'my blood' - 'blood'-'?-1stP.nom.

chunka huk-ni-yoq 'eleven' - 'ten'# 'one'-'?-Possessive'

The morph features primarily in the expression of ordinal numbers and with the pronominal suffixes of Person. It is also found with certain case-suffixes, e.g. -nti(n) 'inclusive', -mpa 'positional', -nka 'distributive'.

The function of this 'empty' morph, devoid of semantic content, has given rise to varied speculation. Most often, it has been assumed that the morph has no function or purpose at all, and is merely euphonic, although such a morph would be difficult to place, within most approaches to morphology.

Some have preferred to deny the morph autonomous existence, subsuming its identity within the forms of other morphemes, rather than attribute it any independent role. This would mean analysing the examples just given in the following manner:

yawar-niy 'my blood' cf. wasi-y 'my house'

chunka huk-niyoq 'eleven' cf. iskay wata-yoq 'two years old'

where /niy/, /y/ and /niyoq/, /yoq/ are allomorphs of '1st P. nominal' and of 'Possessive', respectively.

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

I have tried to demonstrate the function of this -ni-, as an 'auxiliary morph', required for purposes of word-formation. In particular, it has been my intention to discover the motivation whereby this device, rather than any other, should have been the solution resorted to in the given structural difficulty. As with other allomorphy, I have tried to identify the circumstances which preceded its introduction, seeking on this occasion to justify the existence of the same -ni- morph-form in CQ, even before the present structural problems arose to require it.

### Cuzco Quechua Allomorphy

Allomorphy is a relatively minor feature of Cuzco Quechua morphology, in terms of numbers but not in significance. I have isolated five areas of suffix allomorphy for particular study:

Vowel-Deletion - affecting the enclitics -mi and -si, the nominal suffix -pa- ('Genitive') and nominaliser  $\text{ʔ-q(e)}$ , ('Agent')

Velar- and Postvelar-Deletion, Vowel-Exchange and /y/-Deletion  
affecting verbal suffixes

Allomorphy of Person - nominal, including ni-Deletion  
and verbal, affecting both simple and transitional  
paradigms.

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

Most of this allomorphy is exclusive to nominal or verbal stem-affixes. Only V-Del includes the nominaliser \*-q(e) and the enclitics of validation, although it seems to be most closely associated with the latter.

Limited evidence of allomorphy appears amongst the root-morphemes of CQ. Instances are few, and in most cases the difference of form seems to be attributable first of all to general phonemic variation, and would be inappropriate in a description of morphology.

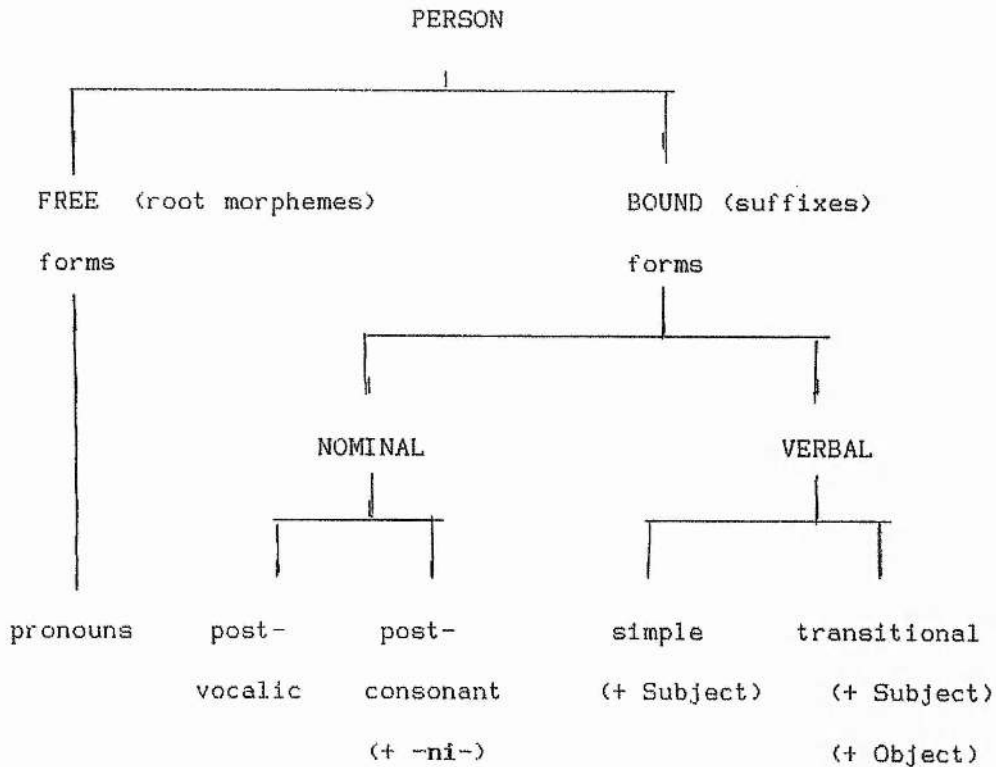
### The Expression of Person.

In the widest domain of allomorphy which I have studied, the unifying factor is primarily semantic, rather than of form. That domain is the pronominal expression of Person. CQ has several series of Person-marking suffixes, some appropriate to nominal stems, others verbal. The nominal or 'possessor' morphs can again be separated into two paradigms: those which are appropriate following a vowel-final stem, and those which occur after a consonant-final stem, (the latter entailing use of the 'empty morph', -ni-). Verbal Person markers also fall into two categories, simple, where only the subject of the verb is indicated, and transitional, where reference includes both the subject and object or addressee of the verbal action. Person may also be indicated using pronominal root morphemes.

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

This gives a total of 5 different paradigms for the marking of Person in Cuzco Quechua:

### Morphemes of Person in Cuzco Quechua



e. g.

nominal, post-V: Mamitaymi - 'She's my Mum.'

nominal, post-C: Yawarniymi - 'It's my blood.'

verbal (simple) : Allillanmi kaypi kashani - 'I'm just fine here.'

verbal (transit.) : Noqa llank'anata qosayki - 'I will give you a job.'

free pronoun : Noqa llank'anata qosayki - 'I will give you a job.'

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

In some cases, the relationship between paradigms is clearly one of allomorphy - e.g. between post-vocalic and post-consonant nominal Person. In others its nature remains to be established, notably between simple and transitional verb-suffixes, both of which include reference to the verb-subject. I have tried to determine the extent to which the distinctions between the paradigms lie properly at morpheme level, or are simply allomorphic.

I believe the earlier role of allomorphy in this area of CQ morphology may have been greater than that which it plays today, and the number of morpheme categories fewer. In particular, the historical validity of the distinction between nominal and verbal expressions of Person may be questioned. This in turn would cast doubt on the distinction between nominal and verbal root-categories, themselves. As observed earlier, a number of root-morphemes appear to combine both these functions without any difficulty.

A further strand in the relationship between nominal and verbal expressions of Person is found in the role of the morph *-ni-*, used with nominal paradigms. An analogous 'empty morph' may also feature in the allomorphy of verbal Person, namely *-n*.

I hope to show that the nominal Person morphemes of CQ were historically derived from the verbal sub-system, and further, that in origin all paradigms of suffixes for the marking of Person, although now strictly morphemic, owe a great deal more to syntactic forms of expression than would now appear.

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

### Word and Syllable:

Finally, I shall discuss some formal characteristics of the structural framework within which the morphemes of CQ operate, namely the word, and within this the syllable.

### The Word:

In this dialect of Quechua, the word is audibly identifiable by virtue of its characteristic stress pattern, such that primary stress falls almost invariably on the penultimate syllable. This means that stress may affect any given morpheme, dependent only on its filling the appropriate position within the word. (Cusihuamán 1976)

A few exceptions to the rule are found, where stress is attracted to the final syllable. This occurs with certain emphatic word-final enclitics, such as -yá 'emotive', -rí 'responsive', and with the 'vocative' -y:

e.g. wayqéy! 'hey, mate!, brother!'

mamáy! 'hey, missus!'

It also applies to most expletive forms:

e.g. alaláw! 'brrr, it's cold!'

atatachalláw! 'aw, how sweet! (baby or young animal)'

atatáw! 'yuk! yeuch, how disgusting!'

arí! 'yes!'

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

In other dialects, particularly those of the Quechua I group, the prosody of the word may differ. In Ancash Quechua, for example, the position of accent is determined partly by the length of the word, counted as a number of syllables. (Parker, 1967, 1976)

Similarly, in the Coastal (QII) dialect described by Santo Tomás in 1560, stress was not always attracted to the penultimate syllable of the word, but might fall on the antepenultimate, and even the initial syllable, depending on the number of syllables involved. Stress was also affected by the nature of the morphemes themselves. For example, a final independent suffix, or 'enclitic', was not counted when determining the 'penultimate' syllable. (cf. Cerrón-Palomino, 1987)

In 1964, Torero suggested that the intonational pattern of Proto-Quechua would have resembled the patterns found in modern Ancash Quechua, as well as in the Quechua of Cajatambo and Chancay, (Department of Lima). This would indicate a stress-pattern similar to that of the lost dialect described by Santo Tomás.

Clearly, the stress pattern of the word is more than a simple matter of realisational habit. In Cuzco Quechua, final stress has a certain exclamatory or appeal function. Elsewhere, a similar final stress may indicate the suppression of a word-final suffix:

e.g.    Ñuká rini    for    Ñukamí rini    'I go, I'm off'  
         ĉaymantá for ĉaymantaka    'from there'

- San Martín. (Coombs, Coombs, Weber 1976)



## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

amuptiycó for amuptiycocka 'when we come'

munaspá for munaspacka 'if you want, if you are willing'

- Santiago del Estero, Argentina (Bravo 1970)

Final stress may also indicate a partial elision of a morpheme:

piñacús for piñacuspá 'getting angry (myself)'

á for ari 'yes'

cá for cay 'this'

- Santiago (Bravo 1970)

The linguistic presence of the morphemes -mí, and -ka/-cka, and of the missing portions of the others (-spa, ari, cay) is implied by the stress-pattern, indicating a word-length longer than that which appears physically. The fact that in such cases of elision stress-patterns are maintained, and not readjusted to produce a standard form, proves the word in Quechua to be a structural as well as a physical reality.

Just as patterns of stress may be useful in identifying an elided suffix in some modern dialects, they may also have relevance when reconstructing historical structures of CQ and of PQ, where forms have been more permanently elided.

-----

15.- Like Cuzco Quechua, both San Martín and Santiago Quechua are dialects of the QII variety. (Torero 1964, 1974)

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

### The Syllable:

The syllable in CQ takes the form: (C)V(C), i.e. only one consonant is tolerated in either periphery. While both consonants are optional, it is more common to find the syllable-onset position filled than otherwise. In terms of its syllabic composition, the basic form of the word may be expressed thus:

(C)V(C) - CV(C) - (CV(C)...)

i.e. the maximum consonant cluster possible consists of two consonants only, each belonging to adjacent syllables, so that consonant clustering at the periphery of word or syllable is not permissible in the pure CQ framework, although it is becoming increasingly acceptable in Spanish loan vocabulary. This form is understood to have applied to Proto-Quechua, also. (Torero 1983)

In addition, the morphemes of CQ themselves display characteristic forms, dependent on their function. Root morphemes are primarily bi-syllabic, thus:

noun root (free)	(C)V(C).CV(C)
verbal root (bound)	(C)V(C).CV
(aux. vb.)	C V

Any root form extending beyond this basic shape suggests the implication of affixation at some stage in its development. (i.e. the lexicalisation of a sequence root+suffix). With a nominal root, a final consonant may indicate deletion or perhaps a foreign origin.

## CHAPTER 1 : Introduction

The forms of suffixes exhibit a greater variation:

(a)	(b)
C	
CV	CCV
CVC	CCVC
CV(C)CV	CCV(C)CV

Note: those suffix forms which I have placed in group (a) will allow morpheme boundary to be contained within a syllable-grouping. Those in (b), however, would require morpheme boundary to extend across syllable boundary (because of the constraint on consonant clusters within the syllable):

C.CV  
C.CVC  
C.CV(C).CV

It has been suggested (Wölck, 1987) that the proto-form of the Quechua suffix may have been a simple: CV. Again, any addition to that basic form might be attributed to historical change. This would include all suffixes categorised under (b), along with the single-C of group (a).

Thus, PQ would have been without consonant-clusters in suffix- as well as in syllable-periphery. This would imply that syllable and morpheme-boundary were always in alignment. Such alignment may not always be found in the modern dialect, but it is a pattern towards which I believe CQ may be straining to return, as evidenced in its allomorphy. Such a potential motivation should be borne in mind when comparing allomorphs in search of historical and current priority.

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

### Introduction:

This allomorphy is the property of a small group of morphemes, each with two allomorphs, of type CV and C, found in post-consonant and post-vocalic position respectively. I have named the allomorphy Vowel-Deletion (V-Del), referring to the manner of its development out of an earlier pre-allomorphic situation, such that the vowel was deleted from a single morph of form CV. Given that the undeleted consonant may itself have suffered alteration, this historical relationship between the two forms used currently is not always immediately obvious. However, once such complications have been recognised and accounted for, Vowel-Deletion provides a clear picture of how one type of allomorphy has been able to develop in CQ. As such it affords insights into less clear areas of allomorphy, in terms of the types of development likely to recur, and the factors which could be expected to influence their final outcome.

Amongst the possible directions of change to be anticipated in CQ, there features a tendency to move away from dependence on syntactically complex means of expression in favour of simpler morphological constructions, this being achieved by affixation. The inevitable lengthening in word-forms is compensated for to some degree by a shortening in the forms of many of the morphemes themselves.

From a personal point of view, the most practical contribution of Vowel-Deletion to my own study of CQ allomorphy must be the recognition which it forced me to pay to the role of the less preferred structure, in this

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

case the consonant-final stem, in retaining the earlier morph-forms I sought after, forms often lost in more 'typical' environments.

In considering Vowel-Deletion, I shall be concerned primarily with these four morphemes:

- mi, Witness Validator (or W.V.), with allomorphs /mi/, /n/
- si, Reportive Validator (R.V.), with allomorphs /si/, /s/
- pa-, Genitive (GEN.), with the allomorphs /pa/, /q/
- \*-qe, Proto Quechua Agent (\*AG.), represented by /qe/ and /q/.

A further few morphemes in CQ show sporadic signs of the effects of V-Del, but do so to a much lesser degree, and without the resultant allomorphy which characterises the other four.

I will consider only the validators in this chapter, leaving 'Genitive' and 'Agent' to Chapter 3.

### Hypothesis 1 : Vowel-Addition

It was through the validating suffixes, -mi and -si, that I first found evidence for the evolution of an allomorphy in CQ. Despite some apparent discrepancy of consonant in the first of these, the similarity between the allomorphs, /n/ and /mi/, /s/ and /si/, was nonetheless sufficient to suggest that each pair might have derived from an earlier single morph. It seemed reasonable to suggest that one of the present-day allomorphs might be identified as the earlier form, and the other its derivative. From a theoretical point of view, the original form need not

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

be represented by either of the morphs in current use, but this position did ultimately turn out to be justified.

My initial hypothesis was to suggest that in each case a vowel, /i/, might have been added to an original single-consonant morph, thus:

$$C + V > CV / C_{\text{corrected for generalization}}$$

(i.e. \*/n/ + /i/ → /mi/, \*/s/ + /i/ → /si/.)

The validators are characteristically word-final, so that such an extension of form might therefore have occurred in order to avoid an unacceptable structure in post-consonant environments:

i.e. ... C + C + # > \*,...CC# (not well-formed)

but ... C + CV + # > ...CCV# (well-formed)

e. g.

$$/atoq/ + /n/ + \# > */atoqn\#, \text{ but } /atoq/ + /m+i/ > /atoqmi\#$$

'fox'      -mi      \* /... CC# /      'fox'      -mi      /... CCV# /

'It is a fox.'

`/atoq/ + /s/ + # > */atoqs#/, but /atoq/ + /s+1/ > /atoqs1#/`

```
'fox'      -s1      *C/...CC#/      'fox'      -s1      /...CCV#/'
```

'They say it's a fox.'

The same Vowel-Addition would not have occurred in post-V position, where structural rules required no change, the construction there being already well-formed:

i.e.: ... V + C + # > ... VC#

compare:

/wasɪ/ 'house' + -mi /n/ + # > /wasɪn#/ 'the house'

```
/wasi/ 'house' + -si /s/ + # > /wasis#/ 'the house (apparently)'
```

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

The hypothesis could be extended to accommodate the Genitive suffix *-pa-* (allomorphs /q/ and /pa/), thus:

\* /q/ → /pa/ in post-C position.

Regarding the disparity of consonant, lexical evidence of further /q/ ~ /p/ variation might be applicable here also. <sup>1</sup> The difference of vowel might be excused by the need to avoid confusion with other morphemes of similar form, such as *-pi* 'Locative', (cf. also *\*-qe* 'Agent' and *-qa* 'Topic'.) Likewise, the problem of the "n" : "m" discrepancy between morphs of *-mi* (above), could be understood in the light of the potential for confusion between a newly-extended \*/n+i/ validator and the /ni/ of the 1st Person verbal suffix.

### Hypothesis 2 : Vowel-Deletion (V-DEL)

Having postulated an earlier situation in which the two validators would have been without allomorphy, I was pleased to find evidence of single-morph validator usage in certain dialects of Quechua outwith Cuzco. Since all varieties of the Quechua tongue spring ultimately from a common source, or Proto-Quechua, it was possible that some of these might retain evidence of the hypothesized pre-allomorphic usage now lost from CQ. Contrary to prediction, however, the single morphs I found were of the 'plus-V' variety:

-----  
1. - cf. *qhapra* ~ *qhawqra* 'fragile, breakable (things)'; *qhawqchi* ~ *qhapchi* 'torn, broken'; *hapq'ey* ~ *hawqq'ey* 'to dig up'; *rawkra* ~ *rapra* 'wing' (Cusihuamán, 1976b)

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

### cognates of -mi:

- /mi/ "emphatic in affirmative sentences"  
in Ecuador Highland Quechua (Ross, 1963)
- /mi/ "positive primary focus"  
in Inga, Colombia (Levinsohn, 1976)
- /mi/ "evidential suffix - assertion"  
in Huállaga, Huánuco Quechua (Weber, 1983)
- mi, me "meaningless, decorative particle"  
early 16thC Coastal Quechua, (Sto Tomás, 1951 [1560])

### cognates of -si:

- /shi(j)/ "wonderative - neutral emphatic suffix"  
in Ecuador Highland Quechua (Ross, 1963)
- /shi/ "evidential suffix - report"  
in Huállaga, Huánuco Quechua (Weber, 1983)
- /si/ "reportative"  
in Inga, Colombia (Levinsohn, 1976)

Initially puzzled by this unnecessary use of the 'extended' forms of validator in postvocalic environments where this would not be demanded



## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

by structural requirements, I was forced to realise that the original form must have been more akin to the present post-consonant allomorph than to the variety found in post-V. Having opted to ascribe historical priority to one of the contemporary allomorphs, I had taken the wrong form as a starting point: what had actually taken place had been the deletion of a vowel, rather than an addition, so that in CQ *-mi* /mi/ had been reduced to /n/ in post-vocalic position, remaining unchanged in post-C. *-si* would have followed a similar pattern. These changes can be generalised to produce the following historical rule of deletion:

V-DEL: \*CV → C / V\_\_

where CV is the form of a validating enclitic, *-mi* or *-si*, in CQ.

Although a hypothesis might yet be devised to produce evidence of single long-morph usage by means of Vowel-Addition, rather than Deletion, the scenario is an unlikely one. Starting from an initial C-form morph, the addition of a vowel in post-C position would subsequently have been generalised to cover post-V also. The hypothesis has many shortcomings, the most obvious flaw being that since the morphemes concerned must always have been capable of following a consonant-final stem, at no time would a single-C morph ever have been acceptable as sole 'variant' there. I shall therefore not pursue this line of reasoning further. There is no parallel evidence of any area exhibiting only the shorter morph, so that if original single-morph usage should be retained anywhere at all, it must be this and no other.

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

### Vowel-Addition Disproven:

My primary error was to ascribe an unwarranted priority to the vowel-final root, and hence to the post-vocalic allomorph, -C. Consonant-final root morphemes are uncommon in CQ, a characteristic which may indicate foreign origin. On this basis, I argued, the post-C variant must itself be an innovation, introduced to accommodate such foreign lexical items. The native language-system was to make exception for the newcomer - on reflection, an unlikely strategy.

Leaving aside the possible origins of the root morphemes of CQ, it should be borne in mind that in longer stems the validating enclitics must follow a number of unquestionably native consonant-final suffixes, e.g. -taq 'Contrastive', -raq 'Continuative', -pis ~ -pas 'Additive'). Assuming constancy in the rules of syllable composition, a single-C morph would never have been acceptable in word-final position following such a suffix: i.e. \*-taqn#, \*-raqn#, \*-pasn#. It follows that such a form could never have sufficed as the sole representative of either validator.

My error was to use oversimplistic examples, of a type base + validator. A quick sample-count taken from a number of CQ texts revealed that the 'exceptional' plus-V morphs were just as frequent as the 'basic' C-only forms. In synchronic terms, neither alternant - and neither context - has priority over the other, although each morph has exclusive priority within its own context.

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

The trap is one which others too have not always succeeded in avoiding, ascribing synchronic priority between phonemically conditioned variants. Parker, for example, is very specific in his treatment of the two morphs, making one basic, the other its derivative by a process of deletion:

"Most Peruvian lects of Quechua have a rule which deletes the vowel of a comment enclitic when the preceding syllable ends in a short vowel; thus [páymɪ] 'its him' but [noqam] 'its me'. *sic* ... it is tempting to reconstruct the rule for Proto-Quechua. If this is done, we must then posit a rule loss as an innovation in those areas that do not have the rule." (Parker 1971)

The deletion process referred to is not a historical one - it is said to have operated in Proto-Quechua as in the present. Rather, it has some structural or psychological validity within the linguistic system of Quechua as operated by its speakers.

A number of questions remained to be answered: how could /m/ become /n/ in the course of deleting a vowel? was the change merely incidental? Why should the vowel remain undeleted in post-C position, so as to produce allomorphy? Could the Genitive suffix, -pa-, also be shown to have been the subject of such a historical deletion-process, considering the total phonemic disparity between the alternants, /pa/ and /q/? More importantly, why should there have been any attempt to delete the vowel of an apparently acceptable CV-type suffix form, when this must result in the untypical, and therefore presumably undesirable, circumstance of allomorphy? And why did the deletion affect some dialects, including CQ, but not others?

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

I therefore went on to examine this Vowel-Deletion in more detail, concentrating in particular on its effects on the three morphemes, *-mi*, *-si* and *-pa-*. In so doing, I was to discover a fourth suffix, more complex than the others, and thus far largely unrecognised as a subject of deletion, the Proto-Quechua morpheme *\*qe*, *\*Agent*. This is the only case I have been able to find where the vowel-deletion process has been able to reach completion, and in which the allomorphy resulting from deletion has been merely a temporary phase in the development of the morpheme.

### Wider Implications of Vowel-Deletion:

Closer investigation of the mechanics and motivation behind Vowel-Deletion was to prove its usefulness in other areas, also. A number of the features I uncovered there turned out to characterise CQ at a more general level. Initially less obvious elsewhere, I doubt very much that I would have recognised any of these operating in other allomorphies had I not encountered them first in V-Del.

Most importantly, I would be able to construct a hierarchy of rules and priorities which would both promote and shape the course of any change in the morphological properties of CQ. Any alteration to one of these structural characteristics would entail realignment of the rest.

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

### Witness Validator, -mi

#### Function:

The suffix 'Witness Validator' (hereafter -mi or W.V.), confers the personal affirmation of the speaker on what is said. Although important to the speaker of Cuzco Quechua, such an emphasis would be unnatural in either English or Spanish, and as a result seldom appears in translation.

I believe the semantic contribution of this suffix is best understood by comparison with that of the Reportive Validator, -si. Whereas the latter is used to quote or to report a piece of information as hearsay, or knowledge acquired indirectly, the former affords personal confirmation, something is known to be true from first-hand experience:

cf. -mi, paramushanmi 'It is raining'

- speaker has seen or felt the rain

-si, paramushansi 'It's raining, apparently'

- speaker has not personally verified the report

It is important to the Quechua mind to specify the degree of certainty with which 'facts' are known to be true. Such awareness is not exclusive to the Cuzco dialect:

"Quichua ... is more particular than English about stating the kind and source of information which one feels called on to pass on. In Quichua, I am the only one qualified to make positive statements

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

about the state of my feelings, thoughts, and intentions, as well as about my own private observations, experiences, and actions."

(Ecuador Highland Quichua, Ross 1963)

Similar stress on the veracity or otherwise of what is said is to be found in Cuzco Quechua's Aymara neighbour also:

"Aymara language and culture oblige the speakers of Aymara to be always conscious of the sources of their information. What one knows by means of one's senses, principally sight, is expressed using certain grammatical forms. What one knows from other sources (because one was told it, or because one inferred, guessed or read it) is expressed using other grammatical forms."

(Hardman, 1988, my trans.)

Cognates of this morpheme, both with and without allomorphy, occur in most modern forms of Quechua, although their use is notably less common in the more peripheral dialects (for instance, as found in Bolivia and Colombia). On the basis of its widespread geographical distribution, Parker (1971) wanted to ascribe not only the morpheme, but even the CV ~ C allomorphy of this and similar validators to Proto-Quechua. However, rather more evidence exists for the absence of this allomorphy from both modern and older varieties of Quechua than is allowed for by Parker in this statement.

Outwith the Cuzco dialect, an 'emphatic' interpretation may sometimes be more appropriate for cognates of *-mi*, particularly where use of the morpheme is less frequent.

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

Torero likewise lays claim to the existence in Proto-Quechua of -mi, as of other validators, apparently with allomorphy:

"The morphosyntax of Proto-Quechua is a part-completed task, but these validators are characteristic of the Quechua linguistic family as a whole, and therefore must have a place in Proto-Quechua."

(Torero 1983, m. t.)

Finally, in a specialised use of validation, -mi serves as substitute in the absence of the copulative verb, ka- ('to be') in the Third Person:  
e.g. Juanqa wayqeymi - 'John is my brother'

Although a 'third' form for this root does exist in Cuzco Quechua, namely kan, its function differs from that of other Persons of the same verb, meaning rather 'there is' or 'here is':

cf. micheq kani(n) : micheq ka - ni - (n) 'I am a shepherd'  
'shepherd' 'be' 1<sup>st</sup>p. -mi

micheq kan(mi) : micheq ka - n - (mi) 'There is a shepherd'  
'shepherd' 'be' '3<sup>rd</sup>p.' -mi

The comparable 'He is ...' variant is rendered:

micheqmi : micheq - mi 'He / It is a shepherd.'  
'shepherd' -mi

Indeed, there is some doubt over the historical validity of the concept 'Third Person' in Cuzco Quechua as any more than the importation of a category of traditional 'western' grammar to the Quechua tongue. (ch. 5)

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

In Cuzco Quechua, **-mi** is realised by two forms: /mi/, following a consonant or semi-vowel, <sup>2</sup> and in post-vocalic position, /n/. Although there is some evidence for a bilabial interpretation of the latter form at phoneme-level, namely /m/, I shall adhere to the customary label, /n/ or "n", (but see later in this chapter)

e.g.     V + n     ri-nku-n 'they go'    ('go'-3rdP. pl. vb--**mi**)  
          C + mi    yawar-mi 'blood'     ('blood'--**mi**)  
          /y/ + mi   wasi-y-mi 'my house'   ('house'-1stP. sg. nom--**mi**)

Choice of allomorph is clearly determined by context, and in particular by the vocalic or consonantal nature of the immediately preceding phoneme. A rule may be formulated to describe the conditions governing allomorph-selection, thus:

**-mi** > [ /mi/ /C\_\_\_\_, /n/ /V\_\_\_\_ ]

(where > reads: 'is realised by')

As an enclitic, the suffix operates at a level of analysis beyond that of the word to which it is immediately adjoined, applying not only to that one word but to the entire phrase or even sentence of which it is a part:

'Although as a suffix the validator must necessarily appear as an extension of the word, it is important to recognise that its semantic relevance is bound up with the entire sentence.'

(Solá - Cusihuamán 1975, m. t.)

-----  
2.- /w/ or /y/. For the purposes of this thesis, these shall be treated as the functional equivalents of simple consonants.



## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

While most prefer to limit the domain of the validators within the clause, others would extend it beyond this to sentence and even discourse-level (Larsen 1974, Wölck, 1987). I believe the latter is something of an exaggeration. However, I will not enter further into this argument, being content for now that the suffix operates beyond the level of the word.

Within the word, the position taken by *-mi* in Cuzco Quechua is generally held to be word-final:

"Unlike the rest of its class, when this enclitic occurs in a word it always forms the final syllable of that word and combines with no other enclitic from its own class." (Cusihamán 1976)

Some exceptions to this rule may be identified, if *-mi* is acknowledged to have a role in certain, possibly fossilised, morphemic expressions.

As already observed, in Cuzco Quechua *-mi* contrasts with a number of other validating enclitics, *-si* (Reportive Validator), *-chá* (Validation of Doubt or Uncertainty) and including possibly *-yá* (Emphatic) and *-ri* (Emphatic Contrast).

In Cuzco Quechua, only *-si* shows consistent signs of a similar CV/C allomorphy to that operated by *-mi*, but the evidence of other dialects suggests that elsewhere such allomorphy is not exclusive to these two validators.

Because of their competing claims to word-final position, as well as the obvious inherent semantic contrast, *-mi* and *-si* are mutually exclusive

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

in Cuzco Quechua. They cannot jointly dominate the same word or phrase. However, as I have suggested above, some combinations of *-mi* with a following suffix may be recognised in certain lexicalised expressions; an active combinatory potential is not indicated.

### Problems of *-mi* allomorphy:

My problem was to determine both how and why the present allomorphy of *-mi* should have developed in Cuzco Quechua. In so doing, I hoped to add confirmation to the wider hypothesis that none of the current allomorphy of Cuzco Quechua was originally a property of that language, or at least of its antecedent, Proto-Quechua.

### A note on 'enclitic' :

The term 'enclitic' was first used for Quechua by Parker and Solá in 1964. <sup>20</sup> In the context of Cuzco Quechua, the term is usually taken to refer to an independent suffix, operating at word-level or above, capable of occurring with all word-types, (nominal, verbal, interrogative, etc.):

"Enclitics, which occur in word-final position, combine with all types of root." (Torero 1983, m.t.)

---

3. - in "Cuzco Quechua Enclitics", Cusihuamán 1976c.

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

Similarly:

"The enclitics emphasise or give relief to the complete sentence or parts thereof; they present completed or uncompleted aspect, or express various syntactic relationships within or between sentences."

(Torero 1983, m. t.)

A rather different definition of the term is invoked by Wölck:

"According to the traditional terminology of general linguistics, an 'enclitic' is the product of the phonological transformation of a root or independent form into an affix or suffix. Although we might toy with the interesting idea that at some pre-historic date many of the current suffixes of Quechua corresponded to roots, I do not believe that such was the actual origin of the use of this term in modern grammars, but simply an error which has arisen. In some cases, however, we might talk of true enclitics, as with (a)ri ...

(Wölck 1987, m. t.)

Originally relating to a phenomenon of Classical Greek, in modern times the term was taken up by Bloomfield (1933) to refer to the situation where an independent word-form is phonetically treated as if it were a part of the preceding word, often accompanied by some modification of the form of the word thus affixed:

"The form of a word or phrase as it is spoken alone is its absolute form; the forms which appear in included positions are its sandhi-forms ... known as atonic forms. ... An atonic form which is treated as if it were part of the preceding word is an enclitic;"

(Bloomfield 1933)

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

The level of analysis at which the enclitics operate plays no role in such a definition, which is largely concerned with realisation.<sup>4</sup>

As a mere label, any linguistic term must inevitably remain open to redefinition (preferably explicit!). Nonetheless, while I do not believe that this was the intention of Parker and Solá when they introduced the term, there may well be a strong element of truth in a definition such as that used by Wölck, at least for Cuzco Quechua.

-----

4. - cf. English: 'It's raining' < < \*It is raining>;  
'I'm hungry' < \* 'I am hungry'; 'We haven't eaten' ~ 'We've not eaten'  
< \*'We have not eaten'. The relevant morphemes are phonetically  
adjoined, yet syntactically distinct.

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

### History of -mi in CQ:

#### González Holguín:

As far as the Cuzco dialect is concerned, I have been unable to find any record of a time when -mi was without a CV ~ C type allomorphy. The suffix is described in the Grammar of González Holguín (ed. Lobato) thus:

"M, mi, él es, ellos son; también es simple afirmación."

(Ch. 2, part 5, DE las partículas de ornato y elegancia en el lenguaje.)<sup>5</sup>

note: the first part of this description refers to the use of -MI in lieu of Third Person (sg.) ka- outlined above.

The evidence of the Vocabulary corroborates this description of the forms of the morpheme:

Huañuy tam acini	- 'to die of laughing'
Allccoyupactam fihuanqui	- 'you treat me like a dog'
Camankam rinay	- 'it's time for me to go now'
Capuchiquey capuhuanmi	- 'I have someone who will provide for me'

It appears that by the time of González Holguín, -mi had already developed both longer and shorter morphs. While the conditions governing

5.- "m, mi, he is, they are; also serves as simple affirmation"

(González Holguín 1901 [1607], Book 5, Ch. II, Of the particles of decoration and elegance in the language.)

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

allomorph selection are not specified, from examples in the Vocabulary, the crucial factor is clearly the same criterion of preceding vowel or consonant which operates today:

i. e.     -mi   --> [m/V\_\_\_\_, mi/C\_\_\_\_]

Nonetheless certain potentially significant differences are indicated, both of which will be covered in more detail later. One is of form: the shorter allomorph is described as "m", apparently to be interpreted as /m/.

The second difference concerns the distribution of the suffix within the word. In the 1901 edition of González Holguín's Grammar, a distinction is drawn between -mi and other validators, -si, -chá and -ri. While these are, as now, word-final, -mi is unexpectedly categorised along with the 'partículas medias':

"que se componen con unas antes de sí, y otras después de sí, ...  
Estas partículas se pueden añadir al fin de una dicción, poniendo  
las que sean necesarias." <sup>es</sup>

Thus, -mi may be word-final, but need not be so. The assertion is difficult to understand, for in neither text, Grammar or Vocabulary, have I been able to find a single unambiguous example of the morpheme in mid-word position.

6.- "which operate with some before them, others following. ...

These particles may be added to the end of a word, using whichever may be necessary." (González Holguín 1901 [1607], Book 5, Ch. II)

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

Two possible explanations suggest themselves. The most tempting would be to treat this distinction between *-mi* and other enclitics as a mistake, incurred by the later editor. However, there may be some truth in the suggestion: Whether or not it is possible to find a mid-word example of *-mi* in the Vocabulary depends largely on one's interpretation of the data. If a role is identified for *-mi* in certain lexicalised expressions, a mid-word environment for the morpheme may yet be found. Such suspect items would include the following expressions, not usually subject to analysis:

Huañuycama payahuan vncunimari

- 'I am really ill, on the point of dying'

Intimanan Dioschu Dios caintip camaquenmiari

- 'The sun is not God, actually God is its creator.'

but cf.:

Munanim ari - 'because I say so'

Cam llullaypas fiocam ari manatac

- 'you may be a liar, but I am certainly not' (my translation)

The placing of word-boundary in this text often appears to be arbitrary. A mid-word occurrence of *-mi* would require accepting such word-division as a deliberate and faithful reflection of Cuzco Quechua speech-habits (words being acoustically identifiable from the position of accent). However, by the same criterion, a word-initial distribution of *-mi* would also be possible:

cf. As allillamcani - 'I am a little better'

Acuyapa hucnin micanqui - 'you really are a troublemaker'

Anchic cunap hucninmicay - 'he's a great complainer'

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

Clearly the positioning of word-boundary, and hence the position of the validator, cannot be wholly relied on in this text.

Some exception to the rule of allomorph-selection is found in the post-vocalic environment, namely the occurrence there of "mi" and of "n".

e.g. Chicallami - 'it's just this size'

intimanan Dioschu

- 'the sun is not God, actually God is its creator.'

However, the general pattern appears to indicate that the appropriate morph in this position would be "m". In post-consonant position, no variation occurs. In view of the instability of the post-vocalic context, it may be inferred that the morph found there is the less well-consolidated of the two forms, possibly indicating a more recent establishment in that position.

Neither these rarer forms of the morpheme, nor the differences of distribution indicated in the Grammar alter the evidence of a bi-morphic, CV ~ C representation of -mi in the Cuzco Quechua of the early 17thC, with the conditioning factor of morph-selection, the preceding vowel- or consonant-final stem, remaining as now.

Anon. 1586 (ed. Aguilar, 1970):

An earlier text, first published in 1586 by Antonio Ricardo, available in an edition of 1970, bears out the twin-morph representation of -mi, as m or mi, of González Holguín. No reference is made to the position of the morpheme within the word, but allomorph distribution is confirmed.



## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

"La n (m) se pone sobre dicciones acabadas en vocal y mi sobre las que terminan en consonante o dos vocales y sirven de oraciones en indicativo, como en: ño'qan rikuyki, yo te veo : o 'qanmi rikuanki, tú me ves." 7

The text is made unreliable by a high level of misprints. I quote it primarily as one pre-dating González Holguín, and not for its own merits.

### Non-didactic Text:

I have made some attempt to verify these accounts of -mi allomorphy by reference to less prescriptive texts of Cuzco Quechua, mostly dramatic pieces. Although the use of language here must be considered somewhat artificial, nonetheless, it seemed reasonable to expect that any possible ambivalence of Cuzco Quechua with regard to -mi allomorphy might have been taken advantage of for its potential as a stylistic device, to meet with the constraints of rhyme-scheme, the longer morph being syllabic, the shorter one not so. This would have obvious advantages in circumstances requiring the addition or suppression of an extra syllable.

-----

7.- "N (m) occurs with words ending in a vowel and mi with those ending in a consonant or two vowels, and these form sentences in the indicative mood, e.g.: ñoqan rikuyki, 'I see you', or qanmi rikuwanki, 'you see me.' Brackets refer to forms found in the original text.

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

In the texts I have examined, (El Pobre Más Rico, Ollantay, Usca Paucar), there is no evidence of any writer taking advantage of such a variation. Allomorph-selection is predominantly determined as for contemporary CQ, and while sporadic evidence is found for a post-vocalic /n/, or long-form /mi/, this is insufficient to be considered systematic. Thus, the existence of the allomorphy is confirmed, with post-vocalic position again appearing to be the less stable of the two.

A similar situation is repeated in the 17thC. text of Huarochirí, (ed. Arguedas, Duviols 1966), mi and m occurring as before, in post-C and post-V positions respectively. Urioste, in his thesis, "Chay Simire Caymi - The Language of the Manuscript of Huarochirí" (Cornell, 1973), refers to occasional instances of post-vocalic "n", which he considers must represent "m". An alternative interpretation might be that such examples constitute further evidence of the instability of the post-vocalic environment seen before.

### Conclusion:

Regarding evidence for the hypothesised pre-allomorphic use of -mi in Cuzco Quechua, a CV ~ C type allomorphy does seem to have operated in the 17thC, as today, although the precise nature of the shorter morph, as /n/ or /m/, may be questionable. Therefore, if a single undeleted form for -mi were ever used systematically in Cuzco Quechua, this must have been before the time of the Conquest, i.e. before the first written records of Cuzco Quechua.

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

The same would be true of a more recent scenario of incipient allomorphy, in which the older morph would alternate with the new while the latter was becoming established in post-V. There is no clear evidence in Cuzco Quechua text of a 'change-over' period. Occasional occurrences in text of mi following a vowel may be the last remnants of such usage, or may simply be errors of printing or transcription. However, post-C representation of the morpheme is consistently mi, and it is unlikely that any printing errors would be so unequally distributed.

Note: The possibility of a mid-word distribution of the morpheme also arises.

In spite of the lack of direct evidence for a pre-allomorphic use of -mi in Cuzco Quechua, the following indirect sources of information remain: firstly, the comparative evidence of other Quechua dialects, and second, the potential for internal comparison within the Cuzco dialect itself. Developments in other morphemes of CQ for which documentation does exist may provide valuable structural parallels with which to compare those for which it is lacking, -pa-, Genitive and \*-qe, \*Agent.

### Dialect evidence of -mi without allomorphy:

I observed before that my original hypothesis, based on a morph of form single-C, foundered on finding evidence outwith the Cuzco dialect of a single morph of type CV, indicating that the development which produced the allomorphy had been one of deletion, rather than any vowel-addition.

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

The first evidence I found of a cognate of *-mi* without allomorphy was in the most northerly form of Quechua, the Colombian Inga (QII-B, Torero 1964, 1983). The relevant cognate is described by Levinsohn:

"*-mi*, 'positive primary focus' (enclitic)"

e.g. *cay carnavalta munanchi mi tucuycuna, tucuy pueblo.*

'We all wanted this festival - the whole town did.'

*yacuma mi rini, yacu spangapa, yanungapa, café rurangapa, asuapa y*

*apipa.* 'I would go to the river to bring water for cooking, to make

coffee, and for chicha and soup.' (Levinsohn, 1976)

In the Quechua of neighbouring Ecuador, (also QII-B), there is similar evidence of *-mi* without allomorphy:

e.g. *micunata munanimi* 'I want food.'

*micuita munanimi* 'I want to eat.'

*Chishipi lluchishami* 'I will go out at nightfall.'

(Ecuador Quichua: Fausto Jara, n.d. (1980?))

e.g. *Ñucapagmi* 'It's mine.'

*Yantami* 'It's firewood.'

(Ecuador Highland Quichua: Ross 1963)

This corroborates the hypothesis that the morpheme might be used without allomorphy, although the evidence is of a longer morph, CV, and not the shorter form, C, anticipated. A further examination of the forms of *-mi* cognates throughout the Quechua dialects is given below. Dialect data is set out in accordance with the sub-groupings of Torero (1964, 1983).

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

### Cognates of -mi:

#### Quechua II B:

Colombia		mi		Levinsohn 1976
Ecuador		mi		Mugica 1967
		mi	mari	Jara (1980?)
Ecuador Highland Q.		mi	mari	Ross 1963
San Martín (Peru)		mi		Coombs et al. 1976

#### Quechua II A:

Cajamarca (Peru)	m	mi		Quesada 1976
	(m)	mi		Farfán 1963
Amazonas (Peru)	m	mi		Taylor 1977

#### Quechua I (Peru):

Huanca (Junín)	m	mi		Cerrón-Palomino 1977
Tarma (Huanca)		mi		Adelaar 1984
Huánuco (Huanca)		mi		Parker 1963, Weber 1983
Huánuco (Huanca)		mi	(mer)	Solá 1967
Junín (Huanca)		mi		Farfán 1963
Lima		mi		Farfán 1963
Ancash - Huailas	m	mi		Parker 1976, Lastra 1974

#### Quechua II C:

Cuzco Quechua	n	mi		Cusihuamán 1976, Solá 1970, Núñez del Prado 1927
	ŋ	mi		Yokoyama 1951
	m	mi		González Holguín 1607 <u>Usca Paucar</u> 18th C <u>Ollantay</u> 17thC?
	(n) m	mi		<u>El Pobre Más Rico</u> 16thC
Ayacucho	m	mi		Ráez 1967, Soto 1979
	m	mi	má (emph.)	Parker 1961, 1965
Bolivia:			min	Urioste-Herrero 1955, Grondín 1971, ILV 1965, Wrisley 1981
	(n)		min	Lastra 1968,
	(n) m	mi	min / mari	Raurich 1901 (Sucre)

#### Santiago del Estero (Argentina):

		mi		Bravo 1970
Coastal QIIB/C		mi, me		Santo Tomás 1560 [1951]
Huarocharí	(n) m	mi		ed. Arguedas / Duviols 1966
(QIIA - CQ overlay)				early 17thC

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

### Conclusion:

From this it is apparent that the morpheme *-mi* possesses CV ~ C allomorphy in only the dialects of QII-C and QII-A. Within QII-C itself, this is restricted to the varieties of Southern Peruvian Quechua, Cuzco and Ayacucho Quechua. In QI, Ancash is exceptional in possessing the allomorphy, Cerrón-Palomino's evidence for Huanca being contradicted by the others.

Being predominantly absent from QI, which represents the earlier of the two main waves of Quechua expansion (Parker 1963, Torero 1964), it may be inferred that the allomorphy was not introduced until following the major QI:QII split. However, this will not account for the absence of the same deletion in the most peripheral dialect-areas of QII, i.e. in the areas of most recent expansion, supposed to have been derivatives of a Cuzco-type variety. In this respect, it is notable that: 1) cognates of *-mi* are used much less frequently in these dialects and that 2) in the northern periphery, the semantic function of cognates is often one of 'emphasis' rather than validation, while in the south it is equally likely to be deemed 'without function' (sources as above).

Vowel-Deletion did not affect *-mi* in all dialects of Quechua. Nor, even in those dialects where it did occur, has it affected all realisations of the morpheme, notably the post-consonant environment. This may be interpreted as a partial blocking of the historical deletion process. The partial failure of Vowel-Deletion to progress was the immediate cause of the allomorphy of *-mi* in Cuzco Quechua, forcing as it did the

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

retention of the older form along with the new. The reasons for such failure remain to be identified.

The historical expansion pattern of the Quechua dialects does not offer a wholly convincing explanation for the distribution of this allomorphy. It may be instead that a structural motive, coming from within the dialects themselves, might offer a more satisfactory solution to the problem. Thus, some linguistic characteristic factor shared by the dialects of Southern Peruvian Quechua and Ancash, but not found elsewhere, might be held to account for the restricted geographical distribution of the deletion.

An explanation is required also for the variant forms *min* and *mari* of Bolivian and Ecuadorean dialects respectively. Like the forms of CQ, these too must derive ultimately from a PQ form, *\*-mi*. The form *mari*, and perhaps *mer* (selection factor undetermined, Solá 1967), would appear to implicate some use of the independent emphatic, *ari* 'yes, indeed'. In contrast, *min* bears a close resemblance to the twin-use of both validation variants of CQ, i.e. *\*-mi-n*. A related hypothesis of 'double possession' expression has been applied to certain variants of the 'Genitive' case-suffix, including *-qpa* (thus, *\*-q-pa*, Cusihuamán, 1976a). The hypothesis, however, proves to be illusory. (Chapter 3).

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

### Further development of the deleted form:

The discrepancy of consonant between representation of the shorter morph of González Holguín, *m*, and its modern counterpart, *n*, is re-asserted here. This was earlier thought to pose a potential problem for a theory deriving the post-vocalic form of *-mi* (historically) by a simple vowel deletion: \* $[ /mi/ - /i/ \rightarrow /n/ ]$

It is now clear that such a discrepancy applies only to the Cuzco dialect, and indeed only to more modern forms of that dialect, giving the impression that here *-mi* has undergone a two-stage development in its post-vocalic form:

\*  $mi \rightarrow m \rightarrow n /V\_\_\_(\#)$

(The post-consonant form of the morpheme remains unchanged). The change in description, according to Middendorf, took place some time in the mid-17th Century (Middendorf 1890 (1970)).

I stress that this two-stage development is a matter of appearance, for I believe the second stage, the exchange of */m/* for */n/*, found only in Cuzco Quechua, may be open to challenge. To this end, I must first verify the identity of the sounds represented by past and present descriptions of the shorter morph, "m" and "n".

### Form of the shorter morph in González Holguín:

González Holguín first described the short form of *-mi* for Cuzco Quechua: "m". (1607, 1608) It might seem obvious enough that "m" was intended to represent the phoneme, */m/*, but at this early stage the



## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

writer did not have such a linguistic device at his disposal. His is broadly a phonetic description of the data as the writer perceived it, distinguishing sounds as they differed impressionistically from one another and not functionally. But if González Holguín did not deal in phonemes, he most certainly did not concern himself with their subvarieties, allophones. 'Sounds' were not abstract concepts, with multiple realisations; the sounds themselves changed with their circumstances, so that words were composed using different sounds in different environments.

Inasmuch as the writer did distinguish environmentally-conditioned variations of sound, albeit without acknowledging the subphonemic level at which they operate, it is still possible to discern some allophonic variation in early Cuzco Quechua, including nasal variation. For example, the suffix *huan*, 'with', is recorded using two forms, "huan" and "huam", distributed thus: "huam" - before a stop consonant, "huan" - in all other environments. The variation is clearly allophonic, but the writer appears to raise it to phoneme status by his use of orthography. In a modern orthography, one would not expect to find such sub-phonemic detail unnecessarily repeated.

The ability to recognise phonetic distinctions not significant in one's own language indicates a fairly high level of linguistic awareness. Distinction between word-final nasals was not made in the writer's native Spanish and might easily have been overlooked in Quechua. Therefore, if González Holguín perceived a difference of sound between

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

the nasals "n" of 3rdP., and "m" of -mi, it is likely that a difference of sound-quality did indeed exist at that time.

I return to the apparent discrepancy of consonant noted earlier between the forms of -mi used in modern Cuzco Quechua, i.e. while in post-C, the morph is described as "mi", indicating the bilabial nasal, /m/, in post-V, the morph is described as "n", indicating the velar, /ŋ/. (Cusihuamán 1976)

### Form of the short morph in modern Cuzco Quechua:

In modern CQ all nasals are realised alike in word-final position, [ŋ], and this is the form taken by the current post-V morph of -mi.

(Cusihuamán 1976a) Phonetically, the choice would be arbitrary to allocate the form to either nasal phoneme, the bilabial /m/ or alveolar /n/. Some further criterion must be invoked if such a decision is to be made.

In similar cases of neutralisation, it is often possible to recover phoneme identity by replacing the relevant morpheme in a context where a phonetic distinction between the phonemes is maintained. In CQ, although distinction between nasals is lost before word-juncture, it is retained before a vowel, (i.e. syllable-initial position). A following vowel-initial suffix should be capable of revealing the true phonemic nature of the shorter morph, [ŋ], of -mi. Unfortunately for this purpose, all

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

suffixes in Cuzco Quechua are consonant-initial, besides which the morpheme concerned is said to be always word-final.

Returning to the possibility of a mid-word distribution of *-mi* raised earlier, the following items seemed to suggest such a use of the morpheme:

Huañuycama payahuan vncunimari

- 'I am really ill, on the point of dying.'

Intimanan Dioschu Dios caintip camaquenmari

- 'The sun is not God, but actually God is its creator.'

Similar examples are scarce in modern Cuzco Quechua, but cf.:

imasmaris, imasmaris ~ imasmari, imasmari

prelude to a riddle, - 'What's this? What's this?'

'I say, I say, what do you call a ... ?' (Boothroyd, 1978)

Allowing an interpretation *-mi* + *ari*, the nasal here would be clearly /m/. However, even granted such an interpretation, the status of the morpheme in these expressions is entirely historical. The forms are no longer analysable into separately occurring, independent components, whatever may have been their origin. Therefore any information they might betray about the forms of *-mi* would not have contemporary validity.

Evidently, the form of the shorter morph of word-final *-mi* has undergone some alteration, from [m] to [n]. Although the earlier form is clearly /m/, the current morph might be ascribed to either nasal, /m/ or /n/,

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

without contradiction. In a linguistic description, such a situation might be handled using some cover-all device representing an annulment of phonemic distinction, but this would not be welcome in a national orthography, and a choice must be made between the two.

With the exception of Yokoyama (1951), who describes the morph using the phonetic label,  $\eta$ , all others have chosen the option "n". This is the position adopted by the official CQ orthography, of 1975, also. I believe the principal motivation for this choice must be phonetic, as the velar  $[\eta]$  bears a greater physical resemblance to alveolar  $/n/$  than to the bilabial  $/m/$ .

The choice is unfortunate, implying a change of consonant at phoneme-level,  $*/m/ > /n/$ , which did not take place, but was subphonemic. Historically, a choice of  $/m/$  would have been the more revealing. At worst, the phonemic constancy between the two allomorphs of  $-mi$ , differing only in the presence or absence of the vowel, has not been recognised. (i.e.  $-mi > /mi/ \sim /m/ : [mi] \sim [\eta]$ ).

Nonetheless, as distinction is no longer made between nasals in word-final position, for the sake of consistency it may be better to use only the one phoneme-label in that position.

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

### Why Vowel-Deletion?:

The answer to this question is less easy to establish than to its corollary "Why did Vowel-Deletion not happen?", i.e. in post-consonant position.

### Cause of allomorphy:

Motivation for the introduction of CV ~ C allomorphy was outlined earlier. Its presence may be explained by considering what might have happened had Vowel-Deletion been allowed to extend to all positions, including post-consonant.

With the conjunction of a C-final stem and the word-final suffix, \*-ml, the deletion of the vowel from the suffix form would produce the syllabic configuration:

\*CV -> C /C\_\_#    i.e. \*-CC#

Since consonant clustering at word-periphery is not tolerable under the rules of Cuzco Quechua structure, (W6lck, 1987), it is clear that such Vowel-Deletion could not be allowed to proceed in this environment. The result was the retention of the original morph here, thus giving rise to dual representation or allomorphy.

This was not the only possible solution to the impasse. Given the obvious problems relating to its innovation in so common a circumstance as the post-consonant stem, Vowel-Deletion need not have been allowed to

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

proceed at all, leaving the original form of the morpheme, \*/mi/, unchanged. The fact that deletion did occur where possible (i.e. in post-V), even at the cost of producing allomorphy, points to a motivation outweighing in importance the 1:1 relationship between morph and meaning usually preferred in Quechua.

### Why Vowel-Deletion?:

Having found suggestive evidence for my hypothesis that the allomorphy of -mi was not always a feature of Cuzco Quechua, or at least of its ancestor Proto-Quechua, and having established that the immediate cause of allomorphy was the need to avoid an unacceptable syllable-structure, arising from an attempt to delete the vowel of the original morph-form, it remains to be seen why such an attempt to erase the vowel should have taken place.

The motivation for the historical deletion-process itself is not easy to determine. One profitable approach might be to examine what this Vowel-Deletion achieves as it affects -mi, and to consider whether one or more of these achievements might constitute its motivation.

1. Allomorphy. The most obvious effect of Vowel-Deletion must be the allomorphy it gave rise to. However this, as I have claimed, is untypical of the Cuzco dialect, entailing a reduction in the economy of what is basically a one-form-per-morpheme linguistic system. I believe therefore that allomorphy is best regarded as a casualty of deletion rather than an achievement.

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

2. Syllable Closure. Another effect of vowel deletion is syllable-closure, the initial consonant of the validator becoming the closing consonant of the preceding syllable:

. (C)V.ml. -> . (C)Vm.

Again, this produces no obvious advantage, and there is no preference for closed syllables in the dialect. On the contrary, it might be a disadvantage to have a C-final stem, given that all Cuzco Quechua suffixes are C-initial, making further affixation more difficult.

3. Syllable Deletion. Since vowels are syllabic in Cuzco Quechua, the deletion of a vowel inevitably entails the loss of a syllable. Such a reduction would be an advantage only where the length of word-forms was becoming unwieldy. This might well be believed of an agglutinative language such as Cuzco Quechua, with a highly-developed capacity for affixation. Any reduction in word-form achieved without a loss of meaning could be very desirable, and although Vowel-Deletion would produce an untypical and sometimes inconvenient suffix-form, (-C-), this would not be a problem for a morpheme which always took word-final position.

In other dialects, deletion of the relevant syllable may be complete:

cf.      Ñuká rini (\*Ñukami rini) 'I go'

San Martín (Coombs, Coombs, Weber 1976)

The presence of the validator is indicated by the retention of accent-pattern, and the full form is recoverable in careful speech. Such elision might therefore be attributed to the universal weakness of elements in word-final position, were it not morpheme-specific.

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

Note that in Santiago del Estero, Argentina, (QII-C), the enclitic -qa (topic) is subject to a similar elision (Bravo 1970).

4. Change of Accent-Pattern. In CQ, unlike San Martín, accent-patterns have not been retained following deletion of the syllable. This may be due to the historical nature of the latter deletion process. However, in both cases such accent-patterns represent a departure from the pattern of Proto-Quechua. This was seen to have been closer to the pattern of the QI dialects, and of that described by Santo Tomás, such that the validating suffixes had no role in determining the position of the main word-stress (Torero 1964).

The change in the position of accent produced by Vowel-Deletion has no obvious advantage to offer, and would not constitute a motive for deletion. Remembering that the validators operate at a level of linguistic analysis above that of the word, it should perhaps not be surprising if these were to be treated phonetically as not a part of the word to which they are formally affixed. It is significant that in those dialects where deletion has occurred, the validator is now included within the word-unit for the purpose of stress-allocation. This would include the QI dialect of Ancash, Peru (Parker 1976) This inclusion of the validator within the accent-unit may indicate a closer relationship between enclitics and the preceding phrase, at least at a formal level.

It seems that the two innovations, deletion of the vowel from -mi and the closer formal association of that morpheme with the preceding phrase than obtained before, must in some way be related. Thus, Vowel-Deletion



## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

might have taken place following affixation of the validator, previously an independent form, to the preceding word. Although continuing to operate at a higher level of structure, the morpheme has become the physical dependent of the subordinate phrase. Elision of the vowel may perhaps represent an attempt to keep the forms of the words concerned down to a relatively minimal length.

In northern dialects where such allomorphy of *-mi* is not present, notably in Colombia and Ecuador (QII-B), the relationship between the validator and the preceding word is rather less tight. Levinsohn's transcription of cognate *-mi* 'positive primary focus', described as an enclitic, indicates that this takes the form of a separate word:

nucanchis canchi *mi* uranigmada San Miguel Osocumbios. 'ese San Miguel' ca *mi* Ecuador lado.

'We were from San Miguel Osocumbios down river. That San

Miguel is by Ecuador.'

(Levinsohn 1976)

The possibility of an autonomous origin for the validator *-mi* in Ecuador, too, is suggested by Stark (1987, referred to by Cerrón-Palomino 1987, with the criticism that the hypothesis lacks any empirical basis.)

In this case, the word-initial examples of *-mi* found in González Holguín may not be so very strange, as the morpheme may originally have been regarded as an independent form, and not a suffix at all.

Note in southern QII-C, use of *-mi* may be so minimal as to be regarded in many cases as a fossil-form, (Urioste-Herrero 1955)

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

### Further CQ Validators:

Thus far, Vowel-Deletion has been seen to apply only to the one validating morpheme, *-mi*. The identity of the remaining validators of Cuzco Quechua is open to some debate, 'validation' being often assessed more by semantic contribution than by functional criteria. The following validators have been attributed to Proto-Quechua:

\*-m(i) 'assertive'

\*-g(i) 'vector'

\*-c(i) 'conjunctural'

'modes of perception / assertion',

(Torero 1983)

Note: \*-č(u) 'interrogation' is not considered to belong to this category.

Contemporary Cuzco Quechua may possess four validators:

-mi 'witness' : /mi/, /n/

-si 'reportive' : /si/, /s/

-chá 'doubt' : /čá/

-chu 'unknowing' : /ču/

-----

1. - Often described as 'negative - interrogative'. (e.g. Cusihamán 1976a). This term was suggested by Jake and Chuquín (Imbabura Quechua, 1978), who refer to the 'no knowledge validator': "the semantic content of *-chu* conveys the speaker's lack of knowledge of the truth of a proposition, rather than conveying one of two separate meanings, negation or question."

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

The list reflects my personal interpretation of the data. Cusihamán (1976a), for example, includes a great many other suffixes in his inventory, including a number which I believe are better classified separately as 'emphasis', e.g. -ya 'emotive', -ma 'impressive, -ri 'responsive'. He also asserts the existence of an unaccented allomorph, /ča/ of 'prognosticative' -cha, for which I believe empirical evidence is somewhat lacking.

### -si 'reportive':

Although Torero imputes a V-Del type allomorphy to all validators of Proto-Quechua, in contemporary CQ only two exhibit evidence of such a deletion: -mi (above) and -si, 'reportive'. The conditions of allomorphy are as for -mi, CV /C\_\_, C /V\_\_ :

e.g. "Huk kutinsi huk forastero Pinchimuro ayllumanta ch'in  
pajonalkunapi purishasqa ... Kaypis para saqtayta qallarísqa"

- Once upon a time a stranger from the community of  
Pinchimuro went walking through some quiet scrubland ...  
when just then the rain began to pelt down ...'

(Gregorio, Valderrama - Escalante 1982)

Again, the allomorphy is attested in the earliest CQ records:

mana Uyayquicta Ricuspa	Sin ver tu rostro,
Uasayquita cauarayascam	Mira y mira tus espaldas;
phutiyuansi Uyayuram	Se enrostra con la desgracia.
Uaccha Usurpa Caynas cani	Pobre vagabundo aquí estoy;

(El Pobre Más Rico, 16thC [1938])

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

The geographical distribution of cognates suggests a similar pattern of development to that for *-mi*, although it is apparent that the validator is used on a less frequent basis than its assertive counterpart.

Deletion is attested in the same area as before (including a Colonial dialect of Argentina, QII-C). <sup>2</sup>

As before, a criterion of syllabic structure may be invoked to account for the allomorphy, as deletion of the vowel would be unacceptable in post-C, the validator being characteristically word-final:

\* ( si - i /C\_\_\_# > \*\_\_CC# )

The same conditions of accent apply, validation being excluded from the accent unit in Proto-Quechua, as in most of QI (Torero 1964), but included in those dialects which show deletion. A hypothesis of deletion following affixation, or at least following the formal inclusion of the enclitic within the word accent-unit, may be invoked.

Evidence of *-si* used with *ari* ('yes, indeed'), apart from the preceding phrase, does not occur, as the semantic combination would be a contradiction in terms. The lexicalisation, *sichus* may possibly supply similar evidence here:

cf. "Kay *sichus*<sup>2</sup> arariwa mana qhawaspalla ... " - 'And if the *arariwa* didn't look out well, ...' (Valderrama - Escalante 1982)

-----

2.- QII-C Ayacucho (Soto Ruiz 1976), Cuzco (Cusihamán, 1976), Argentina (Grigoriéff 1641 [1935]); QI Ancash (Parker 1976); QII-A Cajamarca (Quesada 1976) QII-B San Martín (Coombs, Coombs, Weber 1976)

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

### -si - change in consonant value:

The validators **-mi** and **-si** share one further similarity: each has undergone a change of consonant. The change sustained by **-si** is not immediately obvious from contemporary CQ, having affected both allomorphs. The form of this validator in Proto-Quechua is believed to have been **\*-š(i)** (Torero 1983, above). PQ phonology distinguished two sibilants, **\*/š/** and **\*/s/**. In certain dialects, including CQ, these have merged, with loss of the palatalised form. In dialects retaining the distinction, cognates of **-si** continue to be realised with **/š/** (e.g. Cajamarca (QII-A) **shi ~ sh** - Quesada 1976, Huánuco (QI) **shi ~ sher** - Solá 1967)

Fortunately, there was no other suffix in Cuzco Quechua with which **-si** might be confused in its new forms, **/si/** and **/s/**, and the change could proceed without incurring the problems of homonymy and consequently of morpheme identification which resulted from the alteration of consonant-value in other vowel-deleting suffixes.

cf. **\*-mi**, W.V. : **\*[mil] > [m] > [ŋ]** - homonym of 3rd Person, and  
possibly of a further morpheme, not fully identifiable (Ch.5)  
**\*-pa**, Gen. : **\*[pal] > [p] > [ɣ]** - current homonym of 'Agent'  
**\*-qe**, Ag. : **\*[qel] > [q] > [ɣ]** - current homonym of post-V Genitive

-----  
3.- Apparently a combination **si-chu-s**; an interpretation of **si: si** 'if' (Castilian) may possibly be too simplistic.

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

In these other cases the change in consonant followed, and in that respect was the result of, Vowel-Deletion. (In the case of *-si*, it is entirely coincidental that the morpheme should have undergone a change of consonant in addition to the Deletion.) However, the immediate factor was a change of distribution from syllable-initial to syllable final position, pre-juncture. The change was significant for CQ, where the distinctions between final consonants have been subject to a general pattern of erosion. In other dialects, homonymy was not implicated by Vowel-Deletion, e.g. in Ayacucho Quechua, which maintains the distinction /m/ : /n/ in word-final position (Soto R. 1976).

Because the change of consonant affected both morphs of *-si* equally, without further complication, this validator provides the most simple example of the historical rule of Vowel-Deletion with subsequent allomorphy, as this applies to Cuzco Quechua.

-chá 'doubt':

There is no evidence for the retention of a CV ~ C type deletion pattern for this suffix in contemporary CQ. Moreover, in spite of the claims of Cusihuamán ('Cuzco Quechua Enclitics' 1976c), I believe there may now be only limited evidence that the suffix can be used without the accompanying 'emphatic' accent, thus:

e.g. "Tren tren imaynachá? -- Kuru hinas suchun"

'A train, a train, whatever can that be? -- Apparently it  
crawls along like a worm' (Valderrama ~ Escalante 1982)

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

Nonetheless, the evidence of CQ text is that this suffix did exhibit the familiar CV ~ C allomorphy at an earlier date:

"Cha, o Ch. Son vna misma cosa.

Cha se añade al fin de nombres o verbos acabados en consonante, o en dos vocales. Ch, a los q acaban en vna vocal, ponese con nombres interrogatiuos quando ay duda, o no se sabe algo." <sup>4</sup>

(González Holguín, Vocabulario 1608 [1952])

There is no indication here that the suffix required an accent, but we may assume that this was possible in some circumstances. It seems that the acquisition of the now characteristic accent accompanied loss of the pattern of Vowel-Deletion allomorphy. This would imply the abandonment of the earlier use of the morpheme, without additional emphasis, -cha ~ -ch. Since it is an accent which carries the semantic contribution, 'emphasis', the vowel bearing the accent is protected incidentally.

---

### 4. - 'Cha or Ch. The same thing.

Cha is added to the end of nouns or verbs ending in a consonant, or two vowels [V + semi-V]. Ch, to those ending in a vowel, goes with interrogative nouns when something is in doubt, or is not known.' [m.t.]

## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

### -chu 'unknowing':

There is no evidence that this suffix has ever been subject to Vowel-Deletion in CQ. With the loss of the Proto-Quechua distinction \*/ĉ/ : \*/č/ (reflex /č/ in CQ, (Torero 1964)), the result of deletion would have been homonymous with the earlier -ch(a) 'doubt', and since the distribution of the two suffixes is similar, this would have resulted in ambiguity.

### Source of final accent:

The independent 'emphatic' ari is clearly implicated in the final accent-patterns of the suffixes: -chá 'prognosticative' / 'doubt', -yá 'emotive', -má 'impressive', and -rí 'responsive' (terms from Cusihuamán 1976). This morpheme was already seen to have close associations with the suffix -mi, through which the accent appears to have been lexicalised:

-má < /ma(ri)/ < /miari/ < \*mi + ari

The final accent indicates the historical deletion of /ri/, just as in other dialects it may indicate synchronic elision, but here the full form is no longer recoverable in slower speech.

cf.      ñuka + mi   >   ñuká                      (San Martín, Coombs et al. 1976)

Wólck (1987) has suggested that ari may constitute the only true 'enclitic' in Quechua - according to the Classical definition of the term, a root become a suffix (see above). In the light of the evidence



## CHAPTER 2 : Vowel-Deletion

of Vowel-Deletion, it may be that the validators are in fact the true enclitics, their present suffix status (indicated by stress-pattern) developing when these were included within a preceding word-boundary.<sup>5</sup>

-----

5. - I would like to propose a highly speculative reconstruction whereby the present validators of CQ and the emphatic morphemes might have derived from a common proto-form, following different trajectories:

\*\_\_V#mi+ári# -> \_\_Vmi#ári# -> \_\_Vm#(ári) -> \_\_Vη

\*\_\_V#mi+ári# -> \_\_Vmiári# -> \_\_Vmári# -> \_\_Vmá#

All but the proto-form \*#mi+ari# are attested Quechua forms.

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

#### Allomorphy and Homonymy - 'Genitive' -pa- and 'Agent' \*-qe:

##### Introduction.

In Chapter 2, allomorphy was seen to be the result of the partial blocking of a historical Vowel-Deletion process, prevented from taking effect in post-consonant, word-final position by syllabic constraints. All of the relevant morphemes were enclitics of validation. The possibility was raised that these might have been subject to deletion following the loss of a former independent morpheme status in Proto-Quechua.

In this chapter, the morphemes -pa- 'Genitive' (a nominal case-suffix) and proto-morpheme \*-qe 'Agent' (nominaliser of verbal stems) will be shown to have been subject to a similar deletion process, resulting in a comparable CV ~ C allomorphy to that of the validators, but with new conditions of morph-selection in the case of 'Agent'. The existence of an allomorphy of this form is universally acknowledged in the case of 'Genitive', but has thus far remained unrecognised for 'Agent', having subsequently been replaced by the single morph, /q/.'

-----

1.- Although I studied the validators first, at the same time I could not help but realise that something very similar was operating in -pa- and \*-qe. Inevitably, there has been a certain amount of interaction between the two studies, but on the whole, it is the work on 'Genitive' and 'Agent' which relies most heavily on the above study of validation.

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

#### 'Genitive' and 'Agent':

The suffixes 'Genitive' and 'Agent' are currently homonymous in CQ, if only in respect of the post-vocalic morph of 'Genitive':

i.e. 'Agent' > /q/

'Genitive' > /q/ /V\_\_\_\_, /pa/ /C\_\_\_\_

I have claimed (Ch.1) that such homonymy is as untypical of the structure of Quechua as is allomorphy. I hope to demonstrate, for this instance at least, that the homonymy of contemporary CQ was not a feature of the proto-language.

#### 'Genitive' -pa-:

##### Identification:

Traditionally labelled 'Genitive' (Cusihamán 1976a), -pa- may be translated by English 'of', or better, by the suffix ''s'. Affixed to a nominal stem, it identifies the referent as possessor or deposit of some thing or quality. The 'possessed' is usually indicated immediately afterwards in a separate noun, to which the 'Genitive' form stands in apposition. The 'possessed' term requires an obligatory suffix of Person (nominal or 'possessor'):

[ 'possessor' ]+-pa- [ 'possessed' ]+POSS.

-----

2.- Such a partial overlap of form shared between two morphemes might be more precisely defined as 'homomorphy', as distinct from total overlap, homonymy (Mulder, in Mulder and Hervey 1980).

## CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

Like the validators, -pa- has two allomorphs, /pa/ and /q/, the long CV-form used in post-C position and the short form, (C), used post-V:

e. g.      [possessor] :      [possessed]

floqa - q                  wasi - y

'I' - -pa-                  'house' - 'my'                  - 'my house'

(1stP. nom)

Juan - pa                  wasi - n

'Juan' - -pa-                  'house' - 'his'                  'Juan's house'

(3rdP. nom.)

Assuming the absence of such an allomorphy in Proto-Quechua, it seems plausible to suggest that once more the CV ~ C allomorphy of **-pa-** was the result of a historical Vowel-Deletion process, comparable to that undergone by the validators:

$$^n\text{CV} \rightarrow \text{C} / \text{V}\_\_\_, \text{CV} / \text{C}\_\_\_.$$

The initial objection to such a hypothesis must be the non-identity of the consonant before and after the proposed deletion,

i. e.      \* [ /pa/ - /a/ -> /q/ ]

However, as in the case of *-mi*, this disparity of consonant proves to be of more recent origin, occurring only in CQ and in Bolivia, but not in other dialects in which *'-pa-* was subject to the same deletion.

3.- I have described such two-part expressions as 'full' or 'double-possessive'. Where one component is omitted, e.g. Juan-pa 'John's' wasi-n 'house', the situation is defined as 'simple genitive' or 'simple possessive' respectively.

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

Unlike the earlier examples, I was to find on this occasion that the CV-form was not the earliest traceable for the 'Genitive' morpheme. An older form still would be found, structured CVC, namely \*-paq. Further, a study of the allomorphy of -pa- would have implications at a deeper level of analysis, in the expression of possession, and specifically, in the development of the Possessor Person-suffixes, which may not be attributed to PQ in its 'earliest' form. Thus, the study of -pa- would provide unexpected confirmation of hypotheses I had been forming in another area entirely. (see Ch.5)

#### 'Genitive' /q/ vs. \*/p/:

Before going on to discuss the deletion process itself, I would like first to set aside the /p/ ~ /q/ anomaly, which otherwise renders deletion an unlikely hypothesis. This was the product of a second change of form, subsequent to the deletion process itself, and not exclusive to the 'Genitive' morpheme.

Until a relatively recent date, the Proto-Quechua distinction between the phonemes \*/p/ (bilabial) and \*/q/ (post-velar) (Torero 1964) was maintained in CQ in most environments. However, the post-V morph of 'Genitive' became indistinguishable from that of 'Agent' at some point

-----

4.- The change was limited to a few morphemes, including -pti- ('simultaneous action, subject-distinct'). The general trend in CQ was for syllable-final /p/ to become the velar fricative [x] (Torero 1964).

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

after the mid-17th C, along with the change in the Witness Validator,

[m] -> [ŋ] (Middendorf 1890 [1970]):

cf.. 'Genitive' /p/ : [p] -> [ɣ]<sup>4</sup>

'Agent' /q/ : [q] -> [ɣ]

Thus, the disparity of consonant in the forms of **-pa-** no longer presents an obstacle to a hypothesis of Vowel-Deletion, the post-V rendering of the morpheme having developed in two stages, (while remaining constant in post-C):

\*-pa- : \*/pa/ -> /p/ -> /q/ /V\_\_\_\_, /pa/ /C\_\_\_\_

#### Delayed date of Vowel-Deletion:

The evidence of text suggests that **-pa-** may have been affected by Vowel-Deletion at a somewhat later date than the validators, since examples of the 'full' form of 'Genitive' retained in post-V position continue to occur on a (relatively) more frequent basis until a much later date:

e.g. 'Genitive' > p ~ pa ~ paq /V\_\_\_\_ CQ (Anon 1586, ed. 1970)

'Genitive' > pa /V\_\_\_\_ in Ayacucho, where V-del is attested for  
the enclitics (Soto 1976, Zúñiga 1979)

(but cf. variable 'Genitive' > pa ~ p /V\_\_\_\_ Ayacucho Q. (Ráez 1927) )

An alternative interpretation of the data might be that the deletion process, beginning at the same period for all affected morphemes, was slower to be fully implemented in the case of **-pa-**.

## CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

### Comparative evidence of Vowel-Deletion:

The evidence of other dialects is complicated on this occasion by an additional variable, the appearance of a second consonant, /q/. The identification of the source of this consonant, and with it an earlier proto-form of 'Genitive', \*-paq, serves to reaffirm the historical priority of the CV allomorph, which was otherwise suggested by the geographical distribution-pattern of the allomorphy itself.

Note that the distribution of 'Genitive' allomorphy differs from that of the validators:

### Dialect Distribution of -pa- cognates:

		<u>paq</u>	<u>pa</u>	<u>pa</u>	<u>~</u>	<u>p</u>
Inga	QII-B		pa			
Ecuador	QII-B	paq				
Cajamarca	QII-B			pa	~	p
San Martín	QII-B		pa			
Ancash	QI		pa			
Junín	QI			pa	~	p
Ayacucho	QII-C		pa			
Cuzco	QII-C			pa	~	q
Bolivia	QII-C			pa(ta)	~	qpa(ta) ~ q
Argentina	QII-C			pa	~	p

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

#### Cause of allomorphy:

Unlike the validators, **-pa-** is not generally recognised as an enclitic (i.e. compatible with all stem-types), but as a suffix of case, appropriate only to nouns and nominalised stems (Cusihuamán 1976a). Nor is it, like the validators, exclusively word-final: 'Genitive' may be followed by a small number of other suffixes, including the validators themselves. This is possible only within a 'simple genitive' construction. The presence of a validator may be required to supplement the lack of a '3rdP.' form of the verb **-ka-** 'be':

i.e.      floqa-q-mi 'It's mine' (1stP. pron--pa---mi)<sup>45</sup>

In previous examples, allomorphy was seen to have been the result of structural constraints in the post-C, word-final environment, C\_\_\_#. The same constraints would apply to 'Genitive':

i.e.      \*pa -> p ~ q /C\_\_\_# : \*-CC#

However, as **-pa-** may occur in a mid-word environment also, it was possible that this would incur new considerations of structure. The complications raised by the mid-word distribution pattern of **-pa-** are in fact limited, and their overall effect is a rule identical to that seen before, deletion being blocked in post-C, but permitted in post-V.

-----

5.- Validation does not seem to occur following the longer morph of 'Genitive', \*qan-pa-n, 'It's yours' (2ndP. pron--pa---mi, \*Juan-pa-s, 'It's Juan's' (Juan--pa---si) A possible motive would be homonymy: cf. -pa-s Gen. + -si, -pas 'also, too'.



### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

The suffixes of CQ conform to the formula, C(C)(V)-initial, the more typical suffix-form, attributed to Proto-Quechua, being CV (Wölck 1987, Cerrón-Palomino 1987). A following suffix of this form would be incompatible with 'Genitive' /q in post-C only:

i. e.            --C + q + CV : \*-CCCV,

breaking the rule permitting only two adjacent consonants within the word. Deletion would therefore be blocked before such suffixes, just as it was before word-juncture, C\_\_#.

Suffixes of the less typical forms, C and CCV, would be incompatible with a deleted 'Genitive' morph in post-V, as well as in post-C:

(    --C + q + C(CV) : \*-CCC(CV) )

     --V + q + CCV        : \*-VCCCV

     --V + q + C + #      : \*-VCCC#

This might have resulted in the blocking of Vowel-Deletion for 'Genitive' in certain post-V environments, also. However, the potential problems of mid-word distribution are overcome in two ways:

- 1) The distribution of the problem-form suffix is either mutually

exclusive with that of 'Genitive',

e. g. -rqa- modal, 'swift; outwards'

or the suffix may only precede -pa-,

e. g. -q Agent:

llank'a-q-pa 'of the worker' 'work'-Ag. -Gen.

- 2) The suffix has a more suitable allomorph:

e. g. n ~ mi, W. V.:

/fioqa-q-mi/, not \*/fioqa-q-n/

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

Note: no hierarchy of allomorphies need be invoked here, morph-selection being determined according to the 'normal' rule, in purely linear fashion. (i.e. each rule of morph-selection operating on the output of its immediate predecessor.)<sup>6</sup>

Thus the distribution of the allomorphs of 'Genitive' is determined in all positions, mid-word and word-final, by the C or V nature of the immediately preceding environment, the deleted form being permissible only in post-V. The immediate motive for the CV ~ C allomorphy is again shown to be structural, deletion of the vowel prevented in the post-C environment.

The historical development of the 'Genitive' case-suffix, as revealed thus far, may be represented:

\*-pa- -> p -> q /V\_\_\_\_, pa /C\_\_\_\_

While affixation was invoked as a possible motivation for the historical process of Deletion which affected the validating enclitics, there is little evidence that -pa- was ever other than a suffix of case in Quechua. Unlike the validators, this suffix seems to have been included in the intonation-pattern of the word-form of PQ. (cf. Santo Tomás 1650 [1951]). Reconstruction of the morpheme for Proto-Quechua is generally made, thus: -pa (Parker 1963, Cerrón-Palomino 1987).

6.- Note that for all 'problem' suffix forms, a proto-morph may be reconstructed of a more suitable form, \*CV, compatible with any stem, --C or --V, and hence with either allomorph of -pa-, /pa/ or /q/ ('Genitive' itself being reconstructed: \*-CVC).

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

Following Stark's suggestion (1974, 1985 -cf. Cerrón-Palomino 1987) that many Quechua suffixes may have been root morphemes in origin, one might reconstruct a proto-form *\*pa-*, as the possible source of 'Genitive'. The verbal suffixes *-pu* ~ *pa-* 'action performed on behalf of another', *-paku* 'action performed for mutual benefit', might also be cognates, with related form and semantic content, but this is far from sufficient evidence to constitute a case for the historical affixation of *\*-pa-*, which is implied more by analogy with other deleting suffixes than by anything else.

I believe that the usual reconstruction of PQ 'Genitive', *\*-pa-*, is in error. Further reconstruction reveals that the 'Genitive' case was probably a derivative of the proto-suffix *\*-paq* 'purpose, destination', indicating a split of function whereby:

*\*-paq* 'purpose, attribute' -> *-paq* 'purpose, target'

*-paq* 'attributive' / 'Genitive'

-> *pa* -> *p* -> *q* /V\_\_\_\_, *pa* /C\_\_\_\_

In this respect, the homonymy between the suffixes 'Genitive' and 'Dative' in the northern dialects, QII-B (Cerrón-Palomino 1987) might be better identified as synonymy, the one suffix combining both functions. This may indicate that a morpheme-split occurred only in dialects where the modern reflexes of *\*-paq* are formally distinguished.

-----

7.- The difference of vowel in *-pu-* being dissimilatory, to distinguish the suffix form from continuing use of the root, *\*pa-*. (Ch.4)

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

Note also Cusihamán's observation that 'Genitive' -pa- may not combine with -paq 'Dative' (1976a). This would be understandable if the two were originally synonymous; combination of the two would be mere repetition.

#### 'Genitive' -qpa:

A reconstruction homonymous with 'Dative' /paq/ offers a more acceptable interpretation of realisations of 'Genitive' as /qpa/, referred to as the preferred form by Rodríguez (1939, cf. Núñez del Prado 1927).

Such forms have been interpreted as 'double-genitive' (Cusihamán 1976a, Cerrón-Palomino 1987). Cerrón-Palomino suggests that the device was used as "una 'galanía'" as early as in González Holguín. However, his example indicates a repetition that is semantic, as well as formal:

"runappa 'de lo que es del hombre'" 'of that which is of (the) man'

If /qpa/ were the result of the fronting of final /q/, a procedure which would ease affixation, there is no need to propose the identity of this consonant with the current postvocalic morph of CQ. Any resemblance is purely coincidental.

The fossilised retention of the earlier morph, /qpa/, is also found in the interrogative pronoun, **peqpa?** 'whose?',  
cf. \***pi-q?** (pi interrog. pron, 'who?' + -pa- 'Genitive').

Further evidence for a hypothesis of 'Dative' origin of -pa- is presented in Chapter 5.

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

#### Agent \*-qe:

##### Introduction:

In this section I will propose a reconstruction, \*-qe, of the CQ suffix 'AGent', -q. In its present use, the morpheme is affixed to verbal stems, to give a nominal or 'participle' form:

e.g. llank'a-q ('work'-Ag) 'a worker, one who works, someone working'

The resultant forms serve both nominal and verbal purposes, the participle being used in conjunction with auxiliary verb ka- 'be', or alone as a non-finite verb form (unmarked for tense)

P'unchaytaqmi uwihaq qhepanta purispa llant'ata huño-q kani

- 'As I followed the sheep every day, I used to collect wood.'

Lliw ihilmun trenmanta rimaqku (rima-q-ku 'speak'-Ag/partic.-pl)

- 'Everyone was talking about the train'

(Valderrama - Escalante 1982)

##### Towards a \*CV Proto-form of Agent:

A proto-form, \*-q, is usually ascribed to this morpheme (Torero 1983). However, I believe such a form was preceded by a still earlier suffix, of more typical CV shape, \*-qe. This subsequently developed in two ways:

- 1) Following a split of function, the original morph-form was taken up by a new morpheme, 'Honorific', closely associated with the nominal, or 'possessor' suffixes of Person. (This morpheme may no longer be used productively in current CQ.)

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

- 2) In its continuing role as Agent, the suffix was subject to Vowel-Deletion, causing a temporary CV ~ C type allomorphy, *qe* ~ *q*. This is the first evidence of such allomorphy in post-vocalic position. The 'full' form, *-qe*, was retained for an extended period in one particular context, namely with participle role, used in conjunction with a nominal / 'possessor' suffix of Person.

Neither the proto-form, *\*-qe*, nor the CV ~ C allomorphy, has hitherto been attributed to the 'Agent' morpheme.

#### Cause of allomorphy:

In this case, allomorphy was a transient phenomenon, reflecting a 'changeover' period during the exchange of old and new forms. Here, the C-final stem may not be credited with blocking deletion, as 'Agent' is compatible only with verbal stems, which are always V-final (Wölck 1987).

Although temporary, the period of exchange was delayed under the influence of an accompanying suffix of Person. The earlier form was also retained in lexicalisations, notably in the 'Honorific' morpheme.

My sources for the reconstruction of *\*-qe* 'Agent' are largely internal to the Cuzco dialect. The scarcity of evidence for other dialects is due in part to the later date at which these became a popular subject of linguistic study. Prior to the 1960s, CQ constituted the main focus of attention, other dialects being dubbed 'corruptions' of the Imperial

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

standard, an attitude which dated back to the period of the Inca Empire (vid. Ch.1).

The timing was unfortunate, for most of the relevant evidence in CQ itself pre-dates the period when detailed study of the other dialects first began in earnest. (i.e. following Parker 1963 and Torero 1964).

#### Evidence of q ~ qe variation:

I first uncovered this case of CV ~ C allomorphy while searching for evidence of another morpheme entirely. The forms which suggested the allomorphy were (-)neq and (-)neqe(n), used with ordinal numbers and in expressions of place.

My initial interest lay in the possibility that these forms might furnish evidence of the 'empty morph', -ni-. However, if the /ni/ portion of such forms was indeed that 'empty morph', the remaining /q ~ qe/ portion must also be identified. To be a morpheme, this must have semantic content. It would also be reasonable to expect to find it used elsewhere, independently of the syllable, /ni/.

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

#### Identification of the /qe/ ~ /q/ morpheme:

#### -q ~ -qe as 'locational':

Given that the 'empty morph' has so far been assumed to be 'empty' of meaning (Ch.5), the apparent semantic relationship between forms featuring *neq* or *neqe(n)*<sup>8,9</sup> must be attributed entirely to the *q ~ qe* portion. Such forms would include:

- |          |            |  |                  |
|----------|------------|--|------------------|
| pana     | fieqeypi   | - 'on my right'                                | (pana - 'right') |
| pana     | neqe       | 'right hand' (position)                        |                  |
| iskay(-) | neqen      | 'second'                                       | (iskay - 'two')  |
| wasi(-)  | neqman'    | 'towards the vicinity of the house'            | (wasi - 'house') |
| wasi     | neqenpi    | 'in the vicinity of the house, near the house' |                  |
| nawpaq   | ~ nawpaqen | - 'first'                                      |                  |
| qhapaq   | ~ qhapaqen | - 'following, later'                           |                  |

Although intuitively related, it is not easy to pin down exactly what these expressions have in common, except that each refers to an aspect of position, or proximity. With these examples, the meaning of the *-q ~ -qe* segment seen so far might be identified as locational, 'the place which is...' or 'the place where...' .

8.- Note: For the time being I shall leave aside the problem of the final /n/ which sometimes accompanies these /qe/ forms.

9.- Initial nasal may be /n/ or /ɲ/, PQ \*/ɲ/ becoming increasingly subject to depalatalisation in CQ. (Torero 1964)

10.- These may also be described as independent roots, and not suffixes: cf. *iskayfieqen*, *iskay fieqen* 'second'.



### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

#### Similarities with other CQ suffixes:

##### 1. 'Locational' -na:

A similar 'locational' role is already ascribed to the morpheme, -na:

- e.g.      puñu-na - 'bed, place of sleeping'                      (puñu- 'to sleep')  
            tiya-na - 'seat, place of/for sitting'                      (tiya- 'to sit')

To distinguish the variant -q ~ -qe from that morpheme, one might invoke the element of order, of place as a position, an aspect of place which -q ~ -qe, but not -na, appears to cover:

- i.e.      -q ~ -qe: 'that which is placed ... (th)' or  
            'that which is / comes in ...th position'

##### 2. 'Agent' -q:

A further similarity also emerges, involving 'Agent' -q ('he who is / does..., that which is...').

- e.g.      puñu-q 'a sleeper, one who sleeps'      (puñu-q 'sleep'-Ag.)

The less favoured single-C structure of the suffix suggests already that the morpheme may have had an earlier form of more typical type, \*CV.

This -q ~ -qe would seem a plausible candidate.

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

#### 3. 'Adoptive' -qe:

A further suffix, of -qe form, appears in Cusihamán (1976a):

"7.22.8. Adoptivo -qe. El adoptivo -qe añadido a un radical que designa paternidad, indica que una persona es autor o protector paternal de otro individuo." <sup>11</sup>

Initially, this would not seem to be identifiable with -q ~ -qe or Agent, as no reference is made to the existence of any /q/-variant.

The identification of the 'Adoptive' suffix suggested by Cusihamán is somewhat inadequate. The morpheme is classified with the 'sufijos modificativos', which: "modifican o añaden un significado extra a la raíz sustantival."<sup>12</sup> The class includes diminutives and augmentatives, referring mainly to person, as well as others which are not obviously person-oriented, such as the 'morfema auxiliar' -ni and 'aproximativo' -neq.

The element of protectorship or patronage which characterises this 'Adoptive' morpheme has no place in the -q ~ -qe forms which first drew my attention. In turn, the idea of position or rank which characterised these is entirely absent.

---

11.- 'Adoptive -qe, added to a root indicating parenthood, implies that someone is the author or protector of another individual.' [m. t.]

12.- 'modify or add extra meaning to the nominal root' [m. t.]

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

It is not at all clear that Cusihamán's definition accounts adequately for the phenomena he presents. His examples are the following:

- tayta-**qe** - padre 'father'
- mama-**qe** - madre 'mother'
- churiya-**qe** - padre 'father'
- wacha-**qe** - madre 'mother'
- marq'a-**qe** - padrino (de bautizo) 'sponsor (baptism)'
- uywa-**qe** - padre adoptivo 'adoptive father'
- kama-**qe** - creador, Dios 'Creator, God'

Given the nature of the roots concerned, each of which must be 'un radical que designa paternidad',<sup>13</sup> the same element of protectorship might have been equally present had the 'common' /q/ of 'Agent' been affixed instead of the so-called 'Adoptive' /qe/.

#### 'Adoptive' -qe as a possible allomorph of 'Agent':

This raises the possibility that the supposed 'Adoptive' -qe might simply be an unidentified allomorph of 'Agent' -q. Cusihamán's own dictionary (1976b) provides further evidence for such a link: the occasional pairing of a q-final entry with what appears to be an example of 'Adoptive':

-----

13. - 'a root indicating parenthood': **tayta** n. 'father', **mama** n. 'mother', **churiya**- vb. 'to father', **wacha**- vb. 'to give birth', **marq'a**- 'to carry in one's arms', **uywa**- 'to rear, bring up', **kama**- 'to command, control'. Note that most of these exhibit a verbal root, and not the nominal root with which such modifying suffixes were said to occur.

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

CREADOR, RA.	Kamaq, kamaqe, ruraqe	- 'maker, creator'
LIBERTADOR, RA.	Qespichiq, qespichiqe	- 'saviour'
PROGENITOR.	Churiyaqe, churiyaq	- 'father, sire'

The 'obvious' inference is overlooked by Cusihuamán, who gives each paired form a different morpheme-analysis. For instance, while KAMA-QE is quoted as an example of 'adoptivo', its synonym, KAMA-Q, was earlier said to exemplify 'agentivo -q'. In the former, the semantic contribution is said to be protectorship, in the latter, agent or purpose - yet these distinctions of contribution appear to make no difference to the whole.

Unfortunately, Cusihuamán offers no example of the use of 'Adoptive' other than the list of lexical stems. I suspect that had he described the forms as used in the spoken context, this would have revealed that 'Adoptive' -qe is never found without a nominal suffix of Person.

e.g.   taytaqe-y   'my father'   'father'-Adopt.-1stP.nom.

          wachaqe-yku   'our mother'   'to bear'-Adopt.-1stP.nom.pl.(excl.)

With this addition, the morpheme comes to bear a still closer resemblance to 'Agent', the additional 'adoptive' connotations being attributable to the joint semantic contribution of stem and Person.

From personal observation, such evidence of a -qe suffix as exists in Cuzco Quechua falls into three categories. Apart from the third variety, evidence is confined largely to historical text:

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

1. invariant **-qe** + POSSESSOR (Person suffix), with 'Honorific' function.
2. **-qe** ~ **-q** variants of 'Agent', used as participle (+ POSS)  
- without 'Honorific' meaning.
3. **-qen** ~ (**-q**) suffix or lexicalised suffix, without reference to Person.

#### 1. 'Honorific' -qe:

Although the semantic connotations of parental status, guardianship or protectorship which characterised the **-qe** examples of Cuzihuamán's 'Adoptive' morpheme might seem to be equally well attributed to the joint contribution of root and Person suffix, it is clear that this is not a simple allomorphy of 'Agent' **-q**.

The **-qe** suffix has a distribution pattern quite distinct from that of 'Agent', always occurring with a Person suffix, and with a restricted range of roots (including some nominal roots, with which 'Agent' is usually understood to be incompatible).<sup>14</sup>

-----

14.- 'Agent' **-q** is not usually held to be compatible with nominal roots, being itself a nominaliser (i.e. of verbal stems). The inference may be that the compatibility of 'Adoptive' **-qe**, and perhaps 'Agent' **-q** also, should not be restricted to one or the other type of root. This, by some definitions, would render the suffixes enclitics.

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

The semantic effect of these conditions is one that would not be produced by the use of 'Agent' -q in the same environment:

cf.      yachachiqe-y    'my personal tutor'

          yachachiq-ni-y 'my teacher, one who teaches me'

          marq'aqe-y    'my godparent'

          marq'aq-ni-y 'one who carries me'

          amachaqe-y    'guardian angel'

          amachaq-ni-y 'my defender'

The use of -qe appears to add something which -q could not. Where -q produces only a temporary descriptive label, -qe establishes a title or role. From the common semantic thread which runs through the examples with -qe, it would seem inevitable that distinctive morpheme status should be applied here. I would suggest that the semantic identification of the morpheme is best described as 'Honorific'. The suffix refers to someone who carries out an activity or role in a particular capacity with reference to the speaker. The speaker defers to that person as his social or spiritual superior.<sup>15</sup>

Although there might be identity of referent in both cases, compared with 'Agent', the 'Honorific' suffix carries additional connotations of a close personal relationship, as well as social indebtedness.

---

15.- Note especially, *casarachiqey*, 'priest, marriage celebrant',  
*ruragey* 'Creator, God', *marq'aqey*, 'godparent (baptism)'.

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

In contemporary CQ, there is little evidence of the 'Honorific' suffix, apart from didactic sources. The restricted nature of the compatible stems is such that these seem to constitute a closed list. This would indicate that the suffix has now lost active combinatory potential, and its former morpheme-status. Recent evidence would thus be of 'fossils', in which the morph-form appears as part of a derived root.

Early q ~ qe allomorphy of 'Agent'

The earliest examples of /qe/ show a suffix that, although still accompanied in all cases by a possessor suffix, is compatible with a much wider range of roots. The use of -q in the same context is more likely to be synonymous than the more recent /qe/, and the semantic connotations of the 'Honorific' or 'Adoptive' morpheme are by no means always implied:

- e. g. muna-qe-yki hinam kunayki 'I advise you, as one who loves you'  
cheqni-qe-ykiqta munanki 'do you love the one who hates you?'  
\_\_\_\_\_

(PMR, Centeno de Osma, 16thC [1938])

Catequenc rucana 'ring finger' ('following finger')

ñoñoquenc ~ ñoñochic 'suckling, one who suckles'

(Santo Tomás, 1560 [1951])

cf. also the rare evidence of contemporary non-CQ dialect (Amazonas):

/apamuxi/ apa-mu-k 'bearer, one who brings (something)

/avisačiki/ avisa-či-k 'one who warns, advises' (Taylor 1977)

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

On this basis, I propose a reconstruction \*-qe of the 'Agent' morpheme, later subject to Vowel-Deletion. A second morpheme, 'Honorific', was derived from the first, as this acquired a specialised role in the environments specified earlier. The new morpheme retained the proto-form, /qe/, the form of 'Agent' suffix in pre-POSS at the time when the morpheme-split took place. The derived suffix, -qe, has subsequently fallen into disuse and appears only in lexicalised stems. The continuing presence of a morph /qe(n)/ in other expressions of place or order also indicates lexicalisation, in this case apparently not preceded by a period of distinctive morpheme-status, e.g. hayaqen 'bile, spleen', iskay ñeqen 'second'.

Note: the distribution of 'Honorific' (as of lexicalised -qe(n)) indicates that 'Agent' may formerly have been compatible with both verbal and nominal stems - a characteristic which by a common definition would render it 'enclitic'. However, the nominal or verbal status of the Quechua root is defined by the category of 'nominal' or 'verbal' suffixes with which it is compatible, rendering the noun ~ verb distinction itself liable to challenge.

The situation is complicated further by the fact that 'Agent' -q continued to be compatible with many of the same roots as 'Honorific', with identity of referent, up to and beyond the lexicalisation of that other morpheme.



### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

#### Allomorphy of 'Agent' as participle (+ POSS):

Until early this century, the **-q ~ -qe** allomorphy of 'Agent' was retained by CQ in one particular environment, in the combination of participle with nominal Person suffix, or **-yoq** ('Possessor').

"As I said for the possessive pronouns, this present participle takes a different variety of possessive pronoun, removing the final **q** and adding in its place **qey** for 'my', **qeyki** for 'your', as in **khuyaq** 'he who loves', **khuyaqey** 'the one who loves me, my lover', **khuyaqeyki** 'your lover' ... "

[m. t.]

(Anon, 1586, ed. Aguilar 1970)

Note the variant construction: **khuyaqeymi kanki**, 'You are the one who loves me', said to be preferable to the optional form (now obligatory): **khuyawaqniy kanki**, which makes use of the 1st Person Object suffix **-wa-**.

Latterly, such appearances of the **/qe/** morph were restricted further, to include only those verb-stems with final **/a/**:

"With reference to nouns ending in the syllable **ai** (**/aq/**), which consist almost entirely of participles, note that along with the normal manner of affixing the possessive endings, there is one special form, such that instead of the euphonic syllable **ni**, a single **e** comes between the word and the ending. In addition, the consonant **ni** (**/q/**) is pronounced more softly, coming closer to a weakened **k**. (**/k/?**)

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

camaj, present participle of the verb camay, 'to crate, make',  
- 'creator'.

SINGULAR		PLURAL
camak - e - y	'my creator'	camak - e - nchis.
camak - e - yqui	'your creator'	camak - e - ycu
camak - e - n	'his, her creator'	camak - e - yquichis
		camak - e - ncu.

These forms are used currently in very few words."

(Middendorf, 1890 [1970], m. t.)

Although both writers interpret this as an allomorphy of possessor Person, (Middendorf invoking an analogue -i- (lel) of the 'empty morph' -ni- (Chapter 5)), variation clearly lies with the preceding 'Agent' suffix. Since such variation was unrecognised, the already familiar concept of an allomorphy of Person would have presented a more 'likely' candidate.

#### Motivation for Vowel-Deletion:

The motivation for deletion itself is not obvious. There is no clear evidence that 'Agent' formerly had independent (i.e. not suffix) status, although a proto-form \*-ñeqe might be invoked, used in a construction of apposition:

cf. iskay ñeqen 'second', 'that which takes position two'  
pana ñeqe 'right-hand', 'that which is on the right'  
wasi ñeqenpi 'that which is by the house'

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

\*llank'a ñeque 'that which works, is a worker'

('position' being perhaps attributable to -n).

Alternatively, deletion may simply have been motivated by analogy with that of -mi, -si, -cha and -pa-.

#### Cause of Allomorphy:

In this case, no C-final stem was present to block deletion, so that the allomorphy of Vowel-Deletion was to be a transitory phase, marking the period of consolidation of the new form. In contemporary CQ, 'Agent' in fact exhibits a deleted form, -q, in all environments, all remaining examples of /qe/ being archaic or 'frozen' forms.

A socio-linguistic motive might be imputed to the retention of the longer form in the case of 'Honorific', -qe. Just as in Castilian certain forms were to acquire an elevated, if not supernatural, profile in the ecclesiastical context, inhibiting their 'natural' development,<sup>16</sup> so also connotations of social superiority implied in the 'Honorific' morpheme may have helped retain that morpheme in its full form, without the erosion suffered by 'Agent'.

---

16.- cf. *espíritu* 'spirit' ex. Latin *spiritus*, otherwise -> \*/espirto/ (Pidal 1973 [1904])

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

In the case of lexicalised **-qen**, examples such as wasif~~ie~~q, wasif~~ie~~qenpi 'by the house' suggest that the presence of the final **-n** would have made deletion impossible. Thus, iskay f~~ie~~qen 'second' -> \*iskay f~~ie~~qn (\*--CC#).

Similarly, the suffix of possessor Person would have impeded deletion in the construction 'participle + POSS.':

'my worker' llank'aqe-y -> \*llank'aq (again \*--CC#).

In contemporary CQ, 'Agent' does in fact appear as /q/ in this context, Person being subject to the now normal rule of allomorphy whereby such suffixes are realised along with the 'empty morph' following a consonant-final stem:

'my worker' llank'aq-ni-y                      'work'-Ag-POSS (1st Person)

This /q + ni/ form did not take precedence until after 1890 (i.e. following Middendorf). This would imply that the historical process of **-ni-Deletion** which was to produce today's allomorphy of nominal Person suffixes in CQ (Ch.5), may have preceded the initiation of Vowel-Deletion in the case of 'Agent', reconstructing thus:

\*qe + f~~ie~~ + y (yki, etc.)

-> qe +        y

-> q + f~~ie~~ + y

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

The re-insertion of *-ni-* in this context, where it was formerly deleted, shows the structural usefulness the morph has acquired. Far from being the redundant morph-form it was before, <sup>17</sup> deleted wherever possible, (again, only in post-V), the morph has clearly been re-instated in a new capacity, as an auxiliary morph, 'enabling' affixation in certain morpheme-specific environments.

#### Implications of 'Agent' allomorphy for the reconstruction of Possessive:

Finally, the three-way free allomorphy of 'Agent'+POSS. listed in González Holguín suggests a proto-form of the construction that is longer than anticipated, featuring the recurrent *-n*, of uncertain origin:

munacniy ~ munaquey ~ munaquenniy,

(González Holguín, 1608 [1901] Ch. X)

The participle is said to have variant form: *c ~ qque ~ qquen*.

The same *-n* seems to have been implicated in lexicalisations such as *hayaqen*, *iskay ñeqen*, possibly following a re-interpretation of structure: *\*-qe + ññi + y ... -> -qen + ñi + y ...*

(Note that both *-n* and *-ñi-* were lost following *ñi*-Deletion:

*qenñiy -> qe\_\_y*, implying a close association of the two 'empty' morphs.)

---

17.- left behind after the affixation and loss of former auxiliary status of the verb *\*ñi-* 'say, attribute' (Ch. 5)

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

#### 'Agent' and 'Genitive' Homonymy:

As was predicted, the contemporary homonymy of 'Agent' and 'Genitive', -q and -q ~ -pa-, respectively, was not exhibited by the proto-forms, \*-qe and \*-paq.

The formal coincidence of the two morphemes was the indirect result of the Vowel-Deletion process to which both were historically subject. However, homonymy would not have been the result had not 'Genitive' undergone a second change or re-interpretation of form, /p/ -> /q/, in the mid-17th Century. The morphemes remain formally distinct in other dialects, even where both have been subject to Vowel-Deletion.

#### Vowel-Deletion - Conclusion:

From the preceding examples, -mi, -si, -pa- and \*-qe, it is clear that the CV ~ C allomorphy exhibited by each of these was the effect of obstruction to a historical deletion process, \*CV -> C, which required retention of the undeleted forms in a number of environments, most notably following the consonant-final stem. Only in the case of 'Agent' \*-qe was the deletion ultimately able to reach completion, with the loss of the earlier allomorphy.

The initial motivation for deletion, and the reason why it should have been morpheme-specific, leaving other morphemes of similar CV form in CQ unaffected, remains undetermined. In some cases, Deletion appears to have been associated with the affixation of a previously independent

### CHAPTER 3 : Allomorphy and Homonymy

morpheme, i.e. \*---#mi -> --mi# ---. If this is so, the reduction of form may have been motivated by a desire to keep the word-unit within a minimal length.

Vowel-Deletion involved the exchange of a proto-form, \*CV, for one of less typical form, C. However, this would be acceptable where further affixation was not required, namely in word-final position, the predictable distribution of a morpheme which owed its origin to a re-interpretation of word-boundary.

The results of Vowel-Deletion may be expressed thus:

			<u>in post-V:</u>	<u>in CQ:</u>
(min)	->	(nmi)	->	/mi/ -> /m/ -> [ŋ] or /n/
(šis)	->	(šsi)	->	/ši~si/ -> /š~s/ -> [s] or /s/
(paq)	->	(qpa)	->	/pa/ -> /p/ -> [ɣ] or /q/
(ŋeqe)			->	/qe/ -> /q/ -> [ɣ] or /q/

## CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

### Introduction:

In Chapters 2 and 3, allomorphy was seen to be the result of a partially-successful attempt to delete the vowel of a CV-form suffix, deletion being blocked in the post-consonant environment for reasons of syllabic composition. The motivation for the deletion itself was unclear, although it appeared that an earlier process of affixation might be implicated in some way.

In the allomorphy of the CQ verb and of Person, the subject of the following chapters, the motivation for change is much clearer. Allomorphy is seen to be the unfortunate by-product of a remedial change, undertaken to control the output of an earlier historical process of affixation.

Where earlier it was suggested that Vowel-Deletion might involve the affixation of a previously independent form, on this occasion affixation relates to the role played by an auxiliary verb, namely ka- ('to be') in the case of the Verbal allomorphy, ŋi- ('to say') in the allomorphy of Person.

### Motivation for Vowel-Deletion:

Having hypothesised a preference for the 1 : 1 relation between formal vehicle and semantic content, (Ch. 1), the possibility that allomorphy itself might provide a motive for change may be disregarded. Allomorphy must be considered the by-product, and not the intention, of all change.



#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

In the case of Vowel-Deletion, there was no obvious reason why the product of affixation, a CV-type form, should have been considered unacceptable. Indeed, the deletion of the vowel of such a suffix would seem on the face of it to be an undesirable treatment of this preferred form.

Nonetheless, given a word-final distribution-pattern (as in the case of the validators, at least), this might render the resultant single-C form a more acceptable proposition, inasmuch as a final vowel would have been an advantage only while further affixation was anticipated, i.e. to provide a convenient V-final stem environment. (The existence of the allomorphy of the validators and of -pa- was itself owing in the first instance to the lack of such a stem.) For this reason, it might be necessary to concede that the CV form is preferred only in the case of a medial suffix, while a final consonant might be tolerated (if not actually preferred) in the case of a suffix with word-final distribution.

The mere reduction of the word-form does not of itself constitute a convincing argument for the deletion-process in a language where the word may include as many as seven or eight morphemes - and more syllables - without this being considered unusual.

In the case of Verbal allomorphy, the principal motives for the developments which in turn produced the allomorphy seem to be two:

1. the preference for the typical CV form in the medial suffix.
2. the avoidance of ambiguity.

## CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

### Verbal Allomorphy

Under this heading, I will consider three types of verbal allomorphy found in CQ, examining both its immediate and underlying causes, and seeking ultimately to identify the motives which were to take priority over the avoidance of allomorphy, considered to be untypical of Quechua. The list is not intended to constitute a complete inventory of all CQ verbal allomorphy, including only those cases which seem to reflect significant patterns in relation to the morphology of the verb.

#### 1. Velar and Postvelar Deletion: CCV ~ CV.

This allomorphy affects a limited number of Modal and Tense suffixes. Here, the second consonant of the cluster, velar /k/ or postvelar /q/, is optional.

#### 2. /y/-Insertion: CCV ~ CV.

In this case, it is the initial consonant, /y/, which appears to be optional. This allomorphy is found with both Modals and transitional suffixes of Person (Object).

Both these allomorphies seem to point to a common desire for the simplification of consonant-clusters in suffix-initial position. However, in the case of the optional /y/ such a motive may be illusory.

## CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

### 3. Vowel Dissimilation: V' ~ V'':

Here, V is the vowel of a Modal suffix, /a/ or /u/. In this case, allomorph selection is fixed, determined by the presence or absence of one of a small group of 'controlling' suffixes, likewise modal.

Once again, the labels 'Velar Deletion', 'Vowel Dissimilation', etc., reflect the changes which I believe provoked the introduction of allomorphy. Unfortunately, such labels can seem to express a priority of one form over another which may be unjustified in the context of contemporary CQ. By its very nature, any new development must involve a change of preference, so that the historically 'basic' morph may not be preferred in the present day.

In spite of its apparently general character, allomorphy remains in most cases morpheme-specific, determined not only by similarities of form, but by the identity and origins of the participating morphemes. Thus not every suffix with an initial consonant-cluster has an allomorph of the simpler CV form, nor do all suffixes of CV form display /a/ ~ /u/ variation. This means that allomorphy may affect one suffix and not another, even where the two suffixes share an identical morph-form, (or homomorph).

## CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

### The Verbal Suffixes of Cuzco Quechua:

It is widely accepted that the system of verb suffixes constitutes the most highly developed area of all CQ morphology. In no other area of the dialect is the number of suffixes so great, or their combinatory potential, and hence semantic potential, so extensive.

Although the details of the inventory of verb suffixes and their precise semantic function may vary from one subdialect area to another, being dependent also on the skill or whim of the individual speaker, the system may be classified, for CQ at least, in accordance with the following general scheme:

### CUZCO QUECHUA VERB-FORMATION

<u>Root</u>	± <u>Modal</u>	± <u>Aspect</u>	± <u>Tense</u>	± <u>Person</u>
verb		-sha-	finite	-----> verbal (+ plural)
or			or	or
noun + verbalising suffix			non-finite (participial)	-----> nominal / / possessor (+ plural)

#### Note:

1. All finite verb-forms require a suffix of Person. Such a suffix may be omitted from participle forms when this would not result in ambiguity, e.g. with -spa-, 'subordinate action', where the subject of

#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

the (subordinate) participial verb is the same as that of the (main) finite form.

2. The participle suffixes, as nominalisers, may take the full range of nominal suffixes, including 'possessor' Person, 'plural' and case, as well as the enclitics, common to both nominal and verbal forms.

3. With some transitional forms, Object Person may precede Tense:

cf. riku - wa - rqa - n                    'he saw me'

'see'    1stP.   'past'   3rdP.

obj.                    subj.

and

riku - rqa - yki                    'I saw you'

'see'    'past'    1:2\*                    \*i.e. 1stP. subj. to 2ndP. obj.

4. The suffix -sha-, 'durative', stands apart from the others. Having connotations both of manner and of time-scale, it takes a position following the Modals, yet preceding Tense. Unlike the Tense suffixes, which are mutually exclusive, -sha- may co-occur with one such suffix of Tense. The distribution of this morpheme is variable, relative to Object Person: cf. -wa-sha- ~ -sha-wa-, seeming to associate the suffix first with the Modals, (which precede Obj.) and then with Tense (which follows Obj. in this Person).

5. Within the Modal class itself, the number of suffixes is too many, and their co-occurrence potential and rules of mutual ordering too complex to detail in this diagram.

## CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

### Development of the Modal Suffixes:

The very limited inventory of Modals in some Quechua dialects (e.g. in Ecuador and Colombia) is an indication that the suffix-system of the verb in Proto-Quechua was much less highly-developed than that found in CQ and elsewhere today, particularly in the Central QI dialects and in the southern varieties of QII (QII-C). Many of the verb-suffixes of contemporary CQ would therefore have had no place in its earliest antecedent, Proto-Quechua. In some cases, formal and semantic similarities suggest that the number of suffixes may have increased through morpheme-split, or the diversification of function.

e.g. *-yku-* 'Augmentative', originally expressing direction inwards (Wölck, 1987), now with at least three distinct functions in CQ:

1. action performed deliberately or with intensity;
2. action performed or requested politely or affectionately;
3. action directed towards someone or something, inwards or downwards.

(Cusihuamán 1976a)

In other cases, a bi-morphemic origin seems to be implied, with the fusion of two suffixes resulting in the development of a third.

e.g. *-paku-* 'action performed to mutual benefit,

*-pu-* 'action on behalf of another' and

*-ku-* 'action on behalf of one's self'

e.g. *-naya-*, *-raya-*, *-paya-*, < *\*-na-ya-*, *\*-ra-ya-*, *\*-pa-ya-*, where *\*-ya-* is perhaps 'durative' / 'state' (Cerrón-Palomino 1987).

#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

##### Role of the auxiliary verb in the formation of suffixes.:

It has been suggested that many of the verbal suffixes of Quechua may be historically derived from root forms (Stark 1974, in Cerrón-Palomino 1987). While in agreement with this as a general statement, I would go further, to suggest that such roots would have had the syntactic status of auxiliary verbs. These would have become associated with the preceding verb-stem, initially on a formal basis, but latterly acquiring the new morphological role of affix. The development of new morphemes on this basis did not prevent the same roots from continuing to perform the function of auxiliary verb, while at the same time being formally recognisable in their new role as verbal suffix.

The historical relationship of derivation between suffix and auxiliary verb is often obscured by subsequent developments. In Cuzco Quechua, the introduction of new allomorph-variants may make the formative contribution of *ka-* ('to be') less easily recognised in suffixes such as *-yku-* (<- \**y-ka*) 'augmentative', *-ku-* (<- \**ka-*) 'reflexive', and even *-sha-* (<- \**č-ka-*) 'durative'. The contribution of the auxiliary *ñi-* ('to say') to the modern suffixes *-ni* '1stP.vb', and *-ni-yki* '2ndP.nom.' (post-C) 'your', and others, remains almost entirely unacknowledged. (Ch.5).

What is important here is that the original verb continued to exercise an auxiliary function, even after the development of the new suffixes. This was to have repercussions for morpheme-identification, as evidenced by the allomorphy of Vowel-Dissimilation.

#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

Note: the distinctive mono-syllabic form of the auxiliary, compared with the characteristically bi-syllabic structure of the verbal root in most dialects of Quechua. In CQ, five such mono-syllabic verb-roots exist: ka- 'to be', fi- 'to say', ri- 'to go', qo- 'to give', na- 'to do (non-specific)'. Of these only the first three currently exhibit auxiliary verb function. It is possible that the others too had this function at an earlier date.

The process of affixation, coupled with the development of new uses of the auxiliary, (some of these also subject to affixation at a later date), was instrumental in the development of the system of verbal affixes of modern CQ. This points to a continuing balance between reliance on the auxiliary verb and on the verb-stem affix as a means of enhancing communication, a swing from the syntactic to the morphological construction - and back again, as each new use of the auxiliary was superseded by another of different emphasis.

#### Verb-suffix allomorphy:

In all three areas described, the allomorphy is exclusive to verb-suffixes. Although a small amount of allomorphy is displayed by the root morphemes of CQ, and particularly by derived roots, it is notable that the forms of root morphemes are highly resilient to variation. A deletion or other change displayed by a given suffix will most often be passed over in the verbal root, even where there is an obvious relationship of derivation between the morphemes concerned.



#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

e.g. hayku- vb. root - 'to come in, go in, enter'

-yku- Modal suffix - in its sense, 'movement inwards, into'

The suffix is subject to both Velar-Deletion, and Vowel-Dissimilation; the root form does not generally exhibit deletion, while the constancy of the vocalic element indicates the complete implementation of Vowel-Dissimilation, without allomorphic residue.

e.g. hamu- vb. root - 'to come'

-mu- modal suffix - 'movement towards, from there to here'

Again, Vowel-Dissimilation has been complete.

It has been claimed that speakers may simply be slow to extend changes of form to perceived root morphemes:

"I would like to formulate a working hypothesis according to which there is <sup>an</sup> tendency ... in Quechua for a change to begin affecting suffixes only, and then to spread to roots. What this implies is that somehow the Quechua speakers "know" when they are dealing with suffixes and when with roots. Thus, it would seem that the grammatical distinction between roots and suffixes has a psychological reality among the speakers of the language. This is undoubtedly quite a strong claim, but on the other hand, it explains the clearcut distinction made among such basic grammatical units, treated differently with respect to the operation of a rule."

(Cerrón-Palomino 1977)

While speakers evidently do make some distinction between roots and suffixes, I believe the resistance of the roots to change may be a

#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

matter of more than the relative resilience of the morphemes concerned, or of a simple time-factor. In fact, the rules governing root morphemes differ from those which apply to suffixes, so that a change of form which would be desirable in a suffix, might be unnecessary or even inappropriate in a root-morpheme, each bounded by different constraints.

##### Constraints on morph-form:

Such constraints would include norms of syllable construction, dependent on morpheme status. For example, a suffix of two or more syllables might be liable to reduction, but roots of this length and longer are common in CQ. In contrast, a morph-form single-C or CCV-initial, tolerable, if a little unstable, in a suffix, would be totally unacceptable in a root.

Any argument for the instability of the suffix based on a hypothesis of later and as yet unconsolidated development would be invalidated by examples such as the above (hamu- <- \*ha-mu-, hayku- <- \*ha-yku-, etc.), where the development of the suffixes, -yku-, (/yku ~ yka ~ yu ~ ya/) -mu- (/mu ~ m/), must inevitably have been historically prior to lexicalisation of the same suffixes within the derived root-forms. Some other criterion must be invoked to explain the relative stability of the more recent root form.

From the study of CQ verbal allomorphy it becomes apparent that in this dialect the norms of syllable composition, distinct for root and suffix, may also differ from one suffix to another, dependent on the characteristic distribution of the suffix within the word-unit.

#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

Although speakers cannot be required to know the derivational history of the morphemes they use - even supposing this information could be retrieved by them - it is clear that such detail has played an essential part in producing the present allomorphy. To the native speaker, the reason for the existence of a suffix form, CCV, may be of no consequence, but the motivation to retain the current (and historically) preferred form-types, apparently remains. The resultant allomorphy represents not so much the desire to return to an earlier form, but the continuation of structural preferences which remained valid for the language in spite of the temporary breach.

##### A note on allomorph 'priority':

Descriptions of Quechua seem to be permeated by a desire to assign priority between allomorphs. Even where this is warranted, allomorph priority may be difficult to determine. The principal criterion most often invoked is that the 'basic' allomorph should be the form with the most free distribution. As a practical aid to analysis, I have often found it helpful to consider the reverse of the commonly held opinion, having learned from the allomorphy of Vowel-Deletion that it is often in the more restricted variant that the historical basis for allomorphy may be found.

For example, in the case of Vowel Exchange, it would become clear that far from causing the variation of vowel form, the so-called 'modifying' suffixes in fact permit selection of the /a/ vowel, i.e. the 'variant' is actually the preferred form. A point of view that took the more

#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

restricted /a/-type morphs to be deviants from the normal rule, would not have revealed the motivation which lay behind this type of allomorphy.

##### Velar and Postvelar Deletion:

This allomorphy affects a limited number of suffixes in Cuzco Quechua, including verb-stem suffixes of all categories, Modal, Tense and Aspect:

Modal: -rqa- 'exhortative': /rqu/ ~ /ru/

-yku- 'augmentative': /yku/ ~ /yu/

Aspect: -sha- 'durative': /ša/ ~ /sʰa/ ~ /sa/

Tense: -rqa- 'past': /rqa/ ~ /ra/

-sqa-(yki) 'future (1stPsubj.:2ndPobj.)': /sqa/ ~ /sa/

-sqa 'narrative past': /sqa/ ~ /sa/

The relevant morphemes have variant forms, C'C<sup>2</sup>V ~ C'V, where C<sup>2</sup> is an optional velar or postvelar consonant, /k/ or /q/. This apart, allomorphs are identical in form, at least at phonemic level.

e.g. rima-ra-ni ~ rima-rqa-ni

'I spoke' ('speak'-'past'-1st Person)

-----  
1.- Note also the derived suffix -ykacha- 'multiple, or erratic action': /ykača/ ~ /yača/, ~ /kača/.

#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

A sub-phonemic distinction may be observed, where the lowering effect of the post-velar, /q/, on the following vowel is sometimes retained even in the absence of that postvelar:

e.g. -r~~q~~o- 'exhortative': [ru] ~ [ro] ~ [rqo], i.e. /ru/, /rqu/.

Where deletion of the postvelar is applied consistently, this morpheme is more likely to be realised as [ru], the 'memory' of the postvelar being forgotten.

Where such allomorphy exists, allomorph selection is free, at the disposal of the speaker. However, the same allomorphy does not extend to all verb-suffixes of similar CCV- form. Most notably, the allomorphy is not exhibited by the suffixes of Person. The identity of participating morphemes may also vary from one dialect to another.

Clearly, the allomorphy is morpheme-specific and not phonologically conditioned, so that even where two morphemes share an identical form, it is possible for postvelar deletion to affect only one of these:

e.g. -sqa- 'past' (participle): /sqa/

-sqa-(yki) 'future' (1stP:2ndP): /sqa ~ sa/

e.g. -yku- 'we (excl.)': /yku/

-yku- 'augmentative' /yku ~ yu ~ yka ~ ya/

In this last example, Velar-Deletion is seen to operate concurrently with a second allomorphy, Vowel-Dissimilation (see below). The Modal -r~~q~~o- 'exhortative', is similarly affected, thus:

-r~~q~~o-: /rqu ~ ru ~ rqa ~ ra/.

#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

The innovative nature of velar- /postvelar Deletion as a historical process, based on a prior morph of full form CCV, is borne out by textual records. (González Holguín, Santo Tomás, Ollantay, et al.) On this occasion at least, there need be no question of ascribing the allomorphy to Proto-Quechua.

The allomorphy marks a period of instability, during the implementation of a historical deletion process destined to result in the replacement of all relevant /C-(post)velar-V/ suffix-forms by single morphs, of type /CV/, provided no obstacle to the process should arise. For some individuals this exchange has already been achieved, but as with the establishment of any linguistic change in Quechua, the usual norms of conservatism with age, geographical and social isolation etc. apply. To these might be added the influence of the written language, 'reminding' speakers of old-established forms. However, for the largely illiterate population of monolingual speakers, this is of no relevance.

##### Motives for Velar- and Postvelar Deletion:

The process involved is one of consonant simplification, CCV > CV, the replacement of the CCV- suffix form with the more typical, CV-. Yet it remains to be seen why other suffixes, although homonymous, should be unaffected by this deletion, including instances of the same suffix-form, found in lexicalisations such as **hayku-** 'to come in', **horqo-** 'to take out'.

#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

It is widely accepted that the CCV suffix form is an indication of bi-morphemic origin, -CV- being the form of an auxiliary verb.

"The fact that they [the proto-forms of 'durative'] both have a similar canonical form, -CCV, is a sure sign to make one think that such suffixes were bi-morphemic at an earlier period (as with the majority of morphemes of type -CCV), that is to say, of form

\*-C-CV."

(Cerrón-Palomino, 1987)

There is less agreement over the identification of the component morphemes. At its simplest, a reconstruction of the subjects of Velar- and Postvelar-Deletion might be devised:

-rqa- 'exhortative' <- \*r - qa

-yku- 'augmentative' <- \*y - ku

-rqa- 'past' <- \*r - qa

-sqa- 'narrative past' <- \*s - qa

-sqa-(yki) 'future (1stP:2ndP)' <- \*s-qa

-sha- 'durative' <- \*š-ka (/š/ reinterpreted as /s/)

This would imply four distinct auxiliary verb-forms, ka-, ku-, qa-, qo-.<sup>2</sup> Two such verb-forms continue to be used in CQ, ka- 'to be', qo- 'to give'. I believe that only one verb need be implicated here, ka- 'to be'. Although the distinction /k/ : /q/ is phonemic in CQ, as it was in Proto-Quechua (Torero 1965, Parker 1964), the postvelar in these

2. A bi-morphemic analysis such as that of Solá (1986): y-ku y-ka r-qo r-qa may not be justified in a synchronic description; the proposed semantic distinction ka ~ ku is entirely allomorphic.

#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

examples may represent the re-interpretation of /k/ following affixation (note that /k/ and /q/ are in complementary distribution in these forms). Parker (1964) appears to imply a similar reconstruction of the postvelar, but continues to distinguish ka- and ku- on the basis of the vowel-difference. This difference is not semantic, and may be accounted for by Vowel-Dissimilation (see below).

Thus, with the exception of the future, **sqa**, all subjects of postvelar-deletion would be reconstructed on a basis -C#ka-. Taking into account both the bi-morphemic history of the morphemes involved, as well as the obvious goal of postvelar-deletion, the allomorphy of Velar- /

Postvelar-Deletion marks just one transitional phase of the derivation:

- \*-C#CV- periphrasis, i.e. --C # ka--
- > -CCV- suffix
- > -CCV- ~ -CV- suffix allomorphy
- > \*-CV- predicted outcome

From this sequence it is clear that the formation of the new verb stem suffix caused the introduction of the untypical suffix structure, CCV. At the same time, the previous alignment of formal and semantic structures was broken. Deletion of the Velar- / Postvelar achieves the realignment of those components, while restoring a more acceptable suffix structure, CV.



#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

##### sqa(yki) ~ sa(yki):

The purpose of Velar- / Postvelar-Deletion was therefore to rectify a particular problem introduced by the affixation of ka-. In the case of sqa(+yki) 'future (1stP.:2ndP.)', although CCV in form, a bi-morphemic origin is not implicated. Nonetheless, the CCV structure is again a product of affixation. In Chapter 5 I will propose a reconstruction of the suffix forms of Person based on periphrastic use of another verb, ñi-, 'to say, attribute'. On that basis, the case of sqa(yki) ~ sa(yki), would imply an earlier form, \*-saq#ñiyki ('I will ...., I tell you / say I to you'). Here -saq is the simple 'future' Tense morpheme, as seen in the non-transitional form, muna-saq 'I will love' (<- \*munasaq#fiy).

Thus the transitional element would initially have been carried by the auxiliary verb, ñi-yki ('say, attribute' - 1st Person : 2nd Person), a homonym of the nominal / possessive suffix, '2nd Person'. Following the affixation of this element, the now redundant ñi- portion was omitted where possible. In the case of the possessive suffix, deletion of ni proved impossible following a consonant, \*-C+yki- \*-CCC-.

In the case of 'future 1st P : 2nd P', the deletion of ñi after affixation would have produced a similar unacceptable consonant-cluster: i.e. \*saq#ñiyki -> \*saqyki, \*-CCC.

On this occasion, the problem was resolved without the retention of ni, by resorting to metathesis: \*-saq -> -sqa, hence: \*-saq#fiyki -> -sqayki

#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

This was evidently a later solution, as the grammar of 1586 indicates the retention of *ni* here, as in nominal cases:

khuyasaq nini 'I will love' (interpreted as desire, 'I will love')

khuyasaq niyki 'I will love you'

Note that the author correctly identifies this as a use of the auxiliary verb *ñi-* and not as an introduction of the 'empty morph'.<sup>31</sup>

As before, metathesis produced a suffix of the less favoured CCV form, again with loss of formal-semantic alignment, and requiring remedial action. Postvelar-deletion here therefore represents one further case of a deletion resorted to in order to put right a problem of structure raised by the earlier affixation of an auxiliary verb-form, although in this case the auxiliary differs.

\**rqa* may perhaps have a similar derivation cf. *raq* 'continuative', with possible verbal function, implicated in *-raya* 'prolonged action' (Wölck 1987). The CVC form, acceptable in a final suffix, would have become unsatisfactory following the affixation of the expression of Person with consequent recession to medial position of the case-marker.

-----  
3.- A similar construction is offered for the conditional:

khuyayman nini, 'I would love'. (Anon 1586, [1970])

## CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

### Conclusion:

Velar- / Postvelar Deletion was a compensatory measure, undertaken to correct the output of affixation, with the motive of producing an acceptable medial suffix form, CV. It appears that CQ may have been subject to this deletion process somewhat later than other dialects, e.g. in both Ayacucho Quechua and in Santiago del Estero (Argentina), the 'past' morpheme has already become /ra/, without allomorphy (Soto 1976, Berrios 1919 (1904)). The same morpheme was still recorded for CQ with the postvelar by Middendorf (1890 [1970]).

However, CQ would already appear to have completed a similar deletion process for a different morpheme: na (nominalizer) <- \*nqa 'future state' (possibly <- \*-naq ?) which appears in the grammar of 1586 as nqa ~ na.

The application of this deletion rule to individual suffixes of the verb-stem seems to be idiosyncratic. The CCV-form suffixes of Person remain unaffected. Here, it may be that the retention of a bi-morphemic interpretation renders the rule unnecessary.

e.g.     -yki-    /yki/ '1stPsubj.' - '2ndPobj.' /y-ki/?

          -yku-    /yku/ '1stPsubj.' - 'plural'    /y-ku/?

cf.       -yku- /yku ~ yu/ 'exhortative'

Thus Velar- / Postvelar Deletion would operate only to prevent morpheme-internal consonant-clusters, the same clusters being acceptable across morpheme-boundary - i.e. the /C-velar-V/ sequence would not of itself be considered unacceptable, but only as the form of a medial suffix.

#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

As far as the syllabic structure of CQ is concerned, all -CC- clusters are interpreted as belonging to adjacent syllables (Ch. 1).<sup>4</sup> Thus, such consonant-clusters would not be acceptable at syllable-periphery. It now appears that the same clusters are equally undesirable at morpheme-boundary, (although they may be tolerated there). This explains why Velar- / Postvelar Deletion has not affected roots such as *horqo-* 'to take out', *hayku-* 'to enter', where the consonant cluster which was so undesirable in the original suffix, -*rqu-* or -*yku-*, became intra-morphemic in the derived root.

#### '/y/-Insertion':

Although this allomorphy gives the appearance of being a further example of the cluster simplification-process seen above, it is not clear that what is involved is more than the insertion of a 'euphonic' glide, /y/.

Once again, the allomorphy involves suffixes of the verb-stem, such that these may be realised with or without an optional /y/:

e.g.     *hinaspa waqayshasqa*: "k'ar k'ar" nispa

          'so there it was, calling out 'Croak! Croak!'

*chaysi hachan escapayrapun kuskan mayuman*

          'then his axe slipped away from him into the river'

---

4.- This would not be true of all dialects of Quechua, cf. Inga, Colombia (Levinsohn 1976).

#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

"¡ay, hachaytan chanqayrukuni!"

'Oh no, I've lost my axe!' (Boothroyd, Usi Texts, 1978)

señora preceptora qapariywaspa ninriykunamanta chutakachaywan,

"¡So bruta indioqa!"

'The teacher grabbed hold of my ears tightly and yelled at

me, 'You stupid indian!' (Valderrama / Escalante 1982)

Although a similar form, /y-CV/, is recognisable in suffixes such as -yku- 'augmentative', -yka- 'durative' (QI), -ykacha- 'erratic movement', the 'infinitive' interpretation usually invoked for the /y/ of these suffixes (Cerrón-Palomino 1987), does not seem to be applicable in the case above.

Two of these examples make a separate morphemic origin for /y/ an unlikely scenario here:

1. /ywa/ with -wa- 'First Person, Object'. This morpheme is usually ascribed a proto-form \*/wa/, without any implication of a bi-morphemic origin. (Adelaar, 1982)<sup>5</sup>
2. /yru/. Here, /ru/ is evidently the shorter variant of the morpheme -rqu-, 'exhortative'. This was already shown to be a subject of Post-Velar Deletion, /ru/ <- /rqu/. Reconstructing the medial postvelar here, the sequence /yrqu/ would be unviable as a proto-form, (\*-CCCV-).

---

5.- I would reconstruct, \*muwa-: /muwa-/ -> /wa/ (CQ), /ma:/ (QI).

#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

Elsewhere, unexplained instances of /y/ in CQ have often been given a euphonic interpretation: e.g. y, 'poetic emphasis', in the *harawi* (songs) of Waman Puma (c.1615): unu-y weqe 'wet tears'. Husson remarks that such nominal use of y "has no function other than to accompany poetic discourse" (Husson, 1984). Although such an interpretation might easily be construed as the simple failure to determine the true semantic nature of a form, it remains possible that a euphonic function might indeed apply here.

The optional inclusion of /y/ before the verbal suffixes described above is overwhelmingly less common than its omission, and generally not acknowledged as a part of the grammatical structure of CQ:

(cf. Cusihamán, (1976a), who ascribes no such allomorphy to the verbal suffixes, -wa-, -rqa-, -sha-, etc.) This very freedom of distribution in itself suggests a phonological, rather than a morphemic interpretation, compared with the restricted, morpheme-specific role of allomorphy in CQ as seen so far.

It is also notable that, in the texts quoted this same frequent inclusion of /y/ is made by speakers who otherwise simplifies verbal consonant-clusters, wherever Velar- / Postvelar Deletion may be applied.

I conclude that the optional presence of /y/ with verbal suffixes, as exemplified above, (as well as in the speech of other individuals), may indeed be euphonic, with the possible intention of closing the preceding syllable (and morph-form), and that this does not constitute an allomorphy comparable to Velar- or Postvelar Deletion. The consonant

#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

serves no semantic function, and is apparently not required for any structural purpose. If this were so, the retention of *-rqa-* in its undeleted form would have produced a similar consonant-vowel configuration, rendering insertion of /y/ unnecessary. (unless the CCV structure, /y-ru/ were deemed to be bi-morphemic, unlike /rqa/.)

Although the explanation offered for this variation is unsatisfactory, nonetheless this serves to show that not all CCV ~ CV variation need be interpreted as the result of a deletion-process such as that seen in the case of Velar- / Post-Velar Deletion. It also raises the possibility that a sequence, -CCV, may be desirable in CQ in certain circumstances, albeit not as the form of a morpheme.

#### Vowel-Dissimilation:

This allomorphy is exhibited by the modals:

*-yku-* /yku/ /yka/ /yu/ /ya/

*-rqa-* /rqa/ /rqa/ /ru/ /ra/

*-ku-* 'reflexive, action performed on one's own behalf' /ku/ /ka/

*-pu-* 'beneficiary, action performed on behalf of another' /pu/ /pa/

realised with a vowel, /a/, before certain 'controlling' suffixes, *-mu-*, *-pu-*, *-chi-*, and *-ri-*, (as well as the 'controlled' *-ku-*), and realised with the vowel, /u/, otherwise:

"Vowel lowering operates in most Quechua dialects under very much the same conditions, and we can safely assume that it did so in Proto-Quechua as well. It is triggered by certain (nonterminal) suffixes

#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

that modify any suffixes to their left...the mechanism which gave rise to this phenomenon is probably not recoverable, because other instances of a/u alternation are lacking." (Adelaar, 1984)

- cf. rikhuri-rqo-mu-sqa /rikhuri-ra-mu-sqa/ 'he appeared'  
rikhuri-rqo-lla-ni-taq /rikhuri-ru-lla-ni-taq/ 'I appeared'  
phuku-rqo-pu-nqa /phuku-ra-pu-nqa/ 'it will blow'  
thuni-ya-rqo-chi-pu-q /thuni-ya-ra-chi-pu-q/ 'knocking everything  
down' (participle)  
avanza-yku-sha-nku /avanza-yu-sha-nku/ 'they are coming'  
hayku-rqo-mu-sqa /hayku-ra-mu-sqa/ 'he went in'

It is universally acknowledged that the 'basic' form here is indicated by the vowel, /u/, leaving the forms with /a/ as 'variant'. While the conditions of variation are known (i.e. the presence of a following modal being seen as 'causing' the exchange of /a/ for /u/), the motive for variation remains undetermined.

Cerrón-Palomino (1987) describes this variation as a phonological pattern, not particularly related to the morphemes themselves. Wölck is more specific, attributing the variation to dissimilation, the initial Modal being distinguished from the /u/ form of the Modal which follows.

"dissimilation affects the vowel u of the suffixes, which become the more neutral a, when the following suffix has another u, as in the forms *apapamuy* and *qawaykaramuy* of Ayacucho, where the basic



#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

constituents are *apa-pu-mu-y* and *qawa-y-ku-ru-mu-y*, respectively.

The latter form also shows the regressive effect of this process."

(Wölck 1987, [m. t.])

The morpheme-specific nature of both the variable suffixes and the 'controlling' modals makes this explanation unsatisfactory. Although Wölck's suggestion of dissimilation comes nearest to providing the initial motive for variation, he pursues an unfruitful line of argument thereafter. The idea that the /a ~ u/ variation could represent a dissimilation, /u/ > /a/, from a following vowel, /u/, fails to account for several aspects of this allomorphy.

The motivation for Wölck's dissimilation is purely 'euphonic' - the vowel of the earlier suffix, /u/, is altered before a following suffix, also of basic /u/ form, in order to prevent the build-up of a sequence of too many /u/ sounds.

i.e. /---u---u---/ > /---a---u---/

Such a motive would apparently be sufficient to provoke dissimilation even where the abhorrent /---u---u---/ sequence would be broken by an intervening suffix such as *-chi-* 'causative'

e.g. *-ku- + -chi- + -mu-* > /ka-chi-mu/, not \*/ku-chi-mu/

Clearly, the acceptability of the vowel-sequence is also dependent on the morpheme-identity of the suffixes concerned:

cf. the acceptable /yu ru ku/ *-yku- + rgo- + ku-*

with the unacceptable \*/yu mu/ *-yku- + -mu-*,

where the acceptable sequence involves a larger build up of the vowel

#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

/u/ than would have been the case in the unacceptable sequence: \*/yumu/.  
(The coincidence of up to three modals of /u/ sound in the earlier example seems to constitute a perfectly acceptable sound-sequence!)

In other cases, the avoidance of a sequence /--u---u--/, if this is indeed a motive, is achieved by deletion of the first vowel:

-mu- + -pu- > /mpu/

The argument is finally invalidated by the 'controlling' effect of the modal -chi- 'causative', which is without /u/:

e.g. -ku- + -chi- > /ka-chi/

This same modal, which has variable distribution, does not have a controlling effect on the allomorphic suffix if that suffix is preceded by -chi-:

-chi- + -ku- > /chi-ku/

Dissimilation, /a/ > /u/:

A reconstruction of the 'dissimilating' Modals, based on a use of the auxiliary, ka-, provides an immediate motivation for both the change of vowel in the restricted environment, here construed as /a/ > /u/, as well as the retention of the 'basic' form, with /a/, in the 'controlled' or 'sheltered' environment, where followed by one or more of the controlling modals.

#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

-yku- /yku ~ yka/ <- \*y-ka

-rqu- /rqu ~ rqa/ <- \*r-ka

-ku- /ku ~ ka/ <- \*ka-

-pu- /pu ~ pa/ <- \*pa-<sup>5</sup>

The continuing use of auxiliary ka-, alongside of the derived Modal suffixes, would lead to possible ambiguity:

cf. /----y # ka----/ 'infinitive' + Aux.

/-----yka-----/ Modal suffix, derived from 'infinitive + Aux.'

I believe that the present allomorphy of such suffixes, exhibiting /a/ ~ /u/ variation, constitutes dissimilation, arising from the need for each new Modal to be formally distinguished from the continuing syntactic construction which was its origin, - not a dissimilation from anything within the immediate stem environment.

The presence of a following suffix of unambiguous Modal role, such as -chi-, -mu-, -pu-, would render such dissimilation unnecessary. Hence, the 'controlling' Modals may be better interpreted as 'permitting' the retention of /a/, considered to be the basic variant, from a historical perspective, at least.

5.- A verb root \*pa-? (\*paya-?) Note the semantic relationship between -pu- 'action performed for another' and 'Dative' -paq 'for', likewise 'Genitive' \*-paq, 'for'.

#### CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

A similar motive would also explain the presence of the 'suffix' in /u/ form, in lexicalisations such as :

hayku- <- \*ha-yka- (-yka- <- \*y-ka)

horqo- <- \*ha-rqa- (-rqa- <- \*r-ka)

where /haykuni/ 'I enter' would otherwise be formally identical with the periphrastic expression from which it derived,

i. e. \*ha-yka-ni -> hayka-ni

The same motive would also account for the sequences:

/-kachi-/ -ku- + -chi-

/-čiku-/ -chi- + -ku-

As 'causative' -chi- has variable distribution, it cannot offer the protective role to the basic form, /ka/, unless it intervenes between that Modal and the verb-ending constituents of Tense and Person.

What is required of the 'controlling' suffix is merely its formal intervention between allomorphic Modal, and the non-Modal suffixes, in order to clarify the Modal nature of the derived morpheme. Such intervention might be immediate or delayed. Anything occurring between Modal and 'control' would be irrelevant to this purpose, but would not prevent the 'control' from fulfilling the desired function. This explains why in some dialects, including CQ, the 'controlling' Modals continue to have their effect on a preceding allomorphic Modal even where the sequence is interrupted by another suffix.

## CHAPTER 4 : Verbal Allomorphy

### Conclusion:

All cases of Vowel-Dissimilation may be reconstructed in a form \*---C#ka-, participle / nominal + AUX.<sup>6</sup>. The implication of the verbal suffixes -rqa- and -yku- in both Velar- / Postvelar Deletion and Vowel Dissimilation allomorphy is no coincidence. Both types of verbal allomorphy are seen to have been the result of remedial action, brought about to deal with two distinct problems raised by a common historical process of affixation. In the case of Velar- / Postvelar Deletion, the problem was one of form, the preference for a CV-type medial suffix as opposed to the form -CCV- (<- \*-C#CV-). The other problem of affixation was a semantic one, the need to avoid misinterpretation of the newly grammaticized Modal with continuing use of the initial syntactic construction (+ AUX.).

Thus, the allomorphy of the CQ verb, as seen here, demonstrates both the importance of affixation as a productive source of verb-stem morphemes, and the conditions within which that process was required to operate, so as to produce a maximum of semantic clarity, with optimal constituents of form. The preference for a relationship of a single form with a single meaning, i.e. the absence of allomorphy, was to take second place to the usefulness of affixation as a means of enhancing the expressive capacity of the language.

---

6.- It is likely that a similar verbal origin (<- \*pa(ya)- will account for the dissimilation of the derived suffix -pu-.

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

### Allomorphy and the Expression of Person.

Although the two subjects might appear at first sight to be unrelated, both have depended on similar principles to develop in their present form. Thus, each has lent to my understanding of the other. In particular, the more general study of allomorphy, exemplified in previous chapters, has been able to contribute to that of Person, suggesting possible motivations for allomorphy, types of change to which the system may have been subject, and the constraints within which such change must have operated.

My interest in Person as a potential source of allomorphy sprang from dissatisfaction with traditional analysis of this area of CQ. The number of allomorphs attributed to each Person often seemed to be unreasonably many:

e.g.     First Person:     y   n   ni   saq   s(q)a   su   wa  
         Second Person:   nki   waq   y   yki   ki  
         Third Person:     n   su   -qa   chu   Ø

with an 'auxiliary morpheme', ni.

(Cusihuamán 1976a)

I will not attempt to account for Cusihuamán's analysis here, but it is clear from this that the amount of allomorphy involved is particularly great for a language in which allomorphy has otherwise a very minimal role. At the same time, certain recurrent features of form appear to figure as part of the identification of several morphemes simultaneously, e.g. y, n, and the 'empty morph', ni, the latter a characteristic of the post-consonant forms of all nominal (possessive)

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

Persons, while homonymous with the verbal suffix of First Person, -ni. The systematic function of such forms within the overall structure of Person-marking seems to have been largely overlooked, subsumed within the identity of individual morphemes. I have therefore aimed to reassess the number and type of distinctions necessary to an analysis of this system, hoping to capture the much simpler structure which seemed to beckon beneath the confusion of the three or more sub-systems of Person said to operate today. To achieve this, I must identify both the precise nature of the morphemes involved, and the true extent of the role played here by allomorphy, seeking as before to determine the origins of such allomorphy.

In previous cases of allomorphy in CQ, Vowel-Deletion, Velar and Postvelar Deletion, and Vowel-Dissimilation, an unexpected element of affixation was found to be implicated. In the expression of Person, too, the common thread of affixation also appears, on this occasion involving the auxiliary verb, *ñi-*, which proves to have had a formative role in the development of the morphological Person suffixes.

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

### The Forms of Person in CQ:

The forms for the marking of Person in CQ fall into several categories, or sub-systems, determined partly by semantic criteria, but mostly by criteria of distribution.

The free forms, or independent pronouns, may occur without a suffix (as verb-subject). They may also take the role of verb-object, indirect object, etc., when accompanied by the appropriate case-suffix.

- e. g.      ñoqa hamu-rqa-ni    'I came'            1stP. pron.    'come'-past-1stP. vb.  
             ñoqa-ta riku-n        'he sees me'        1stP. pron.-obj.    'see'-3rdP. vb.

Bound forms, suffixes, occur with nominal or verbal stems. With a nominal stem, Person may take one of two forms; following a consonant, this features the sequence /ni/:

- e. g.
- |                   |                                       |   |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| wasi-y            | 'my house'                            | 'house'-1stP. nom. (post-V)             |
| yawar-niy         | 'my blood'                            | 'blood'-1stP. nom. (post-C)             |
| mikhusqa-y t'anta | 'the bread which I ate / eaten by me' |   |
|                   |                                       | 'eat'-past partic. -1stP. nom. (post-V) |

With verbal stems, Person reference may include verb-subject only:

- e.g. hamu-rqa-ni 'I came' 'come'-past-1stP. vb.

or may include reference to object, as well as subject, (the 'transitional' forms):

- e.g.     riku-**yki**   'I see you'                                'see'-1stP(subj.):2ndP(obj.)  
             riku-**wanki**   'You see me'                                'see'-2ndP(subj.):1stP(obj.)



## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

Thus, for First Person at least,<sup>1</sup> that Person may take one of five suffix forms, in addition to the independent pronoun root.

### Potential Areas of Allomorphy:

The areas where a relationship of allomorphy between variants seemed most likely to be found were these (in order of diminishing likelihood):

1. between post-consonant and post-vocalic paradigms, relevant to the nominal suffixes of Person.
2. of the verbal paradigms, between forms expressing subject only, and those which express both subject and object Persons.
3. between nominal and verbal paradigms.

### Problems of Analysis:

The potential problems facing such an analysis included three in particular:

Simultaneous representation: the difficulty of separating the formal expression of one morpheme from that of another. This affected transitional verb forms particularly. Here, the morph-forms of subject and object Person can appear to merge:

e.g. -yki, involving both First and Second Persons: 'I<sup>subj</sup>....you<sup>obj</sup>'

-sunki, Second and Third Persons: 'he<sup>subj</sup>....you<sup>obj</sup>'

-----

Note: For the purpose of illustration, I refer only to the First Person. A full list of the forms of Person used in Cuzco Quechua is included in Appendix A.

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

Also affected was the expression of 'plural' in relation to the First Person, which may be inclusive or exclusive of Second Person. Here, it is almost impossible to isolate a discrete morph-form for either Person: cf. -nchis 'we (First Person) and you (Second Person)' and -yku 'we (First Person), but not you (Second Person)'

2. The 'empty morph': a certain amount of data, a recurrent *ni*, appeared to be quite surplus to the system of Person-marking, belonging to none of the recognised morphemes of Person and thus constituting a residue of form without associated meaning. This morph seemed initially to be restricted in distribution to the nominal expression of Person. It would ultimately prove to be relevant to all suffixes of Person. In the verbal system, a morph, *n*, presents a similar problem.

3. The 'zero morph': By way of contrast, some of the recognised morphemes seemed on occasion to be un-represented by any formal device, e.g. the Third Person. Although clearly indicated in nominal expressions, this Person apparently lacks form in certain verbal environments.

### Sub-systems of Person in Proto-Quechua:

From the data of CQ alone, it seemed likely that some, if not all, of the present category-distinctions for the marking of Person might ultimately derive from a single common system, applying in all contexts, and that the present variation could be attributed to the distorting effects of historical innovation, either formal (at the level of

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

allomorphy) or structural (morphemic). With the addition of the evidence of the QI dialects, where nominal and verb expression of Person may be identical, the assumption of a single proto-system is now general (Cerrón-Palomino, 1987).

I believe I have been able to uncover a significant part of that earlier system of Person-marking as it relates to CQ, as well as identifying the origins of the surplus 'empty morph', now with greatly reduced role. The role of allomorphy in the present-day expression of Person in CQ is quite limited. Most of the distinctions which might formerly have been attributed to allomorphy were subsequently raised to morpheme-status, as specialised uses of the various allomorphs in one and another environment acquired increasingly independent character. At the same time, other elements of the early system have suffered a loss of morpheme-status. In particular, this has affected the role of the auxiliary verb, *ñi-* ('to say, attribute'). Having lost its earlier syntactic function, the formal remains of this morpheme have been reinterpreted in several distinct ways within the present system.

I had supposed that the various series of Person-suffixes might each represent a different development of a common parent-system. Instead, I have found that any historical link between the paradigms must be sequential. Thus, the nominal forms of Person derive from a particular verbal use, post-vocalic nominal forms being in turn the derivatives of forms now found in post-C only.

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

Crucial to this analysis has been the identification of both the contemporary function and original motivation of the so-called 'empty morph', -ni-, now a feature of nominal Person marking. This has proved to be the essential link between all suffixed forms of Person, verbal as well as nominal. The relationship between the paradigms is affirmed most strongly by the historical identification of that same 'empty' morph of the nominal system with its current verbal homonym, the First Person marker, -ni.

### Evolution of Nominal Person and Genitive Case:

Finally, I have found the issues of Person and of allomorphy in its wider application come together in one particular area, in the origin of the nominal suffixes of Person and of the Genitive case-suffix, already seen to be a subject of Vowel-Deletion. Both now display an allomorphy wherein morph selection is determined by the vocalic or consonantal identity of the preceding stem-environment. As 'new' suffixes, both have originated as the result of developments affecting an earlier verbal expression of possession.

### A Note on Vowel Length:

I exclude from this study any detailed consideration of the role of vowel-length in connection with Person. This factor acquired undue prominence while it was believed to furnish a rule-of-thumb method for distinguishing the dialects of QI from those of QII: i.e., if vowel-length was phonemic, a dialect was QI, if not, QII. Since vowel-length

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

typically provides the basis for the expression of First Person in the QI dialects, that Person, too, adopted a heightened profile as a criterion for dialect-classification.

The possibility that phonemic vowel-length was a feature of Proto-Quechua, raised initially by Parker (interpreted as stress, Parker 1963), has since been discredited. It is now clear that the phenomenon was the result of consonant-elision in specific environments, such as intervocalic and syllable-final position. Indeed, vowel-length may continue to function as a 'phantom' consonant today.

With vowel-length no longer attributed to Proto-Quechua, it has ceased to be necessary to derive the forms of the suffixes of Person on such a basis. The development of vowel-length as a phonemic feature was a local one, subsequent to the QI: QII split, and limited to QI. Therefore, in this respect at least, the forms of Person found in dialects of QII, such as Cuzco Quechua, may be closer to those of Proto-Quechua than forms of the Central dialect-area, where Quechua has been longer established.

### CQ suffixes of Person - nominal:

It is only in the nominal or 'possessive' suffixes of CQ that a systematic allomorphy of Person may be found, i.e. in the expression of Person with noun or nominalised stems, such as participle forms. In the first case, Person may be identified as 'possessor':

e.g.     tayta-y    'my father'

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

With the participle, Person has the role of agent:

e.g. mikhu-sqa-y t'anta 'the bread which I ate'

('eat'-'-en'/past participle-'by'/1stP)

e.g. puñu-sha-qti-y hamurqanku 'they came while I was sleeping'

('sleep'-'durative'-nominaliser/simultaneous subordinate  
action, subjects distinct-1stP.agent)

Each nominal suffix of Person is marked in one of two ways. Following a vowel, the possessor forms are these:

-y	1st Person
-yki	2nd Person
-n	3rd Person
-nchis	'Inclusive'
-yku	1st Person - plural
-ykichis	2nd Person - plural
-nku	3rd Person - plural

e.g. wasi-y 'my house', wasi-yki 'your house', etc.

Following a consonant, the same forms appear with the prefix -ni- :

-ni-y	1st Person
-ni-yki	2nd Person
-ni-n	3rd Person
-ni-nchis	Inclusive
-ni-yku	1st Person - plural
-ni-ykichis	2nd Person - plural
-ni-nku	3rd Person - plural

e.g. yawar-ni-y 'my blood', yawar-ni-yki 'your blood', etc.

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

The motivation for the allomorphy itself is clear. Following a consonant, the use of the 'post-vocalic' forms of Person would produce intolerable consonant-clustering:

---C + y	*---CC#
---C + yki	*---CCC#
---C + n	*---CC#
---C + nchis	*---CCCV#, etc.

The intervention of the component, ni, CV, breaks up the potential cluster so as to produce a more acceptable form:

---C + ni + y	*---CCVC#
---C + ni + yki	*---CCVCCV#
---C + ni + n	*---CCVC#
---C + ni + nchis	*---CCVCCVC#

Note that the same conditions would apply without the specification of a following word-boundary, i.e. in medial position, as all CQ suffixes have at least one initial consonant:

---C + y + CV (suffix) > \*---CCC-

Treatment of this ni component has followed one of two approaches:

- 1.- The morph is included as part of the form of each post-consonant allomorph of nominal Person, thereby avoiding the need to provide a proper identification for this entity, and missing the opportunity to make what must be a significant generalisation. (e.g. Parker 1963, Middendorf 1890 [1970])

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

2.- The morph is isolated from the suffixes of Person and identified variously as the 'empty' or 'euphonic' morph (Torero 1964, Solá 1967), a 'bolt' or 'rivet', or at worst, an 'empty morpheme' (Cusihuamán 1976a).

The motivation for the use of this particular device, rather than any other (e.g. perhaps the deletion of the preceding consonant), is not clear. It is obviously not physiologically motivated in the same way as, for instance, the epenthetic [b] of *wamra* 'child': [wam<sup>b</sup>ral, not significant at phoneme-level: /wamra/.

The same *ni* appears with a small number of other morphemes indicating possession, or with associations of place: *-yoq* 'Possessor', *-ntin* 'inclusion', *-nka* 'distributive', *-npa* (place) 'on', *-nta* (place) 'through.

e.g. *-yoq* 'Possessor': *wasi-yoq* 'one who has a house'

*yanapaq-ni-yoq* 'one who has a helper'

*-nta* 'through':

*chakra-nta puriranku* 'they walked through the field'

*chakra-n-ni-nta puriranku* 'they walked through his field'

*ni* also figures in the expression of certain cardinal numbers:

e.g. *chunka huk-ni-yoq* 'eleven' ('ten' 'one-with')

*tawa chunka iskay-ni-yoq* 'forty-two' ('four tens with two')

---

1.- "tornillo de empalme", Albó 1964



## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

The lack of a physiological motivation suggests that the origin of this morph was not arbitrary, a random selection of consonant and vowel introduced to provide a bridge between otherwise incompatible morph-forms. Further, the use of the same *ni* component in a small number of environments in which no such 'bridge' seems to be required suggests that the morph may have had a rather different function at the time of its original introduction.

e.g. chunka iskay-ni-yoq,

where the simple \*iskayyoq, without *ni*, would not have broken any rules of consonant combination. In fact, a rare example of such a use appears in the grammar of Santo Tomás (1560 [1951]): yahuaryoc 'with blood'.

With the intervention of *-lla-* 'diminutive', *ni* becomes structurally unnecessary.

e.g. yawar-ni-lla-yki 'just your blood'

may-ni-lla-n-pi 'where(ever)'

cf. \*yawar-lla-yki

\*may-lla-n-pi

In spite of its questionable motivation, the wider justification for this 'empty morph' *ni* has been almost entirely overlooked in Quechua, being devoid of semantic content and therefore, apparently, of interest.

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

### Historical authenticity of ni:

Taking the case of Vowel-Deletion as a parallel example of post-C ~ post-V allomorph variation, and learning from Vowel-Deletion the lesson that the historically basic variant may sometimes be found in the more restricted environment, it seems reasonable to suggest that the forms of post-consonant nominal expression of Person, including the 'empty morph', ni, might be historically prior to those of the post-vocalic paradigm.

This means that the post-vocalic forms of nominal Person would be the derivatives of the post-consonant forms, reconstructing thus:

\*wasi-ni-y -> wasi-y, etc.

As before, this would imply that the present allomorphy was the result of a Deletion-process, effected in post-V, but blocked in post-C for reasons of syllable structure (cf. Vowel-Deletion, Chs.2 and 3). This interpretation would be quite the opposite of the usual rule of ni-Insertion attributed to the allomorphy of nominal Person.

The motivation for such a Deletion would be simple. Since ni was lacking in semantic function, Deletion would involve merely the removal of redundant linguistic form. However, this will not account for the existence of the same 'empty' form in the period before the Deletion process. This would imply that the earlier function of ni must have been other than that which it retains today. (Bearing in mind the implication of affixation in other instances of CQ allomorphy, the possibility of a similar scenario on this occasion suggests itself already.)

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

Note Any variation in the forms of the empty morph and of its cognates: /ni/ ~ /ñi/, is of no significance here. While PQ had both nasals, \*/n/ and \*/ñ/, (Torero 1964), the latter has been increasingly subject to de-palatalisation. In contemporary CQ, the 'empty morph' is realised as /ni/.

Suspecting that the 'empty morph' may not always have been 'empty' of meaning, no obvious semantic contribution can be inferred from its present use. I am grateful to Dr. Stephen H. Levinsohn<sup>3</sup> (Summer Institute of Linguistics) for the suggestion that a cognate form might be retained elsewhere in the grammatical structure of CQ, possibly still with the original - or a related - meaning.

The root form of the verb ñi-/ni- 'to say' presents an opportune candidate. Although Person is generally assumed to have been marked morphologically in PQ, as in modern Quechua, the role of ñi as an auxiliary verb, seen elsewhere in CQ<sup>4</sup> makes this an attractive, and viable, proposition.

3.- Levinsohn's own interest in Quechua lies in the most northerly variety, Inga (Colombia, QII-B). In this dialect, neither the empty morph ni, nor the nominal markers of Person appear. (Levinsohn, 1976).

4.- e.g. used with future tense, to indicate intention: rurasaq ñini 'I mean to do (something)'; in derived verb-stems: anchuy-ñi- 'to throw someone out', munay-ñi- 'to admire', alalau-ñi- 'to be freezing', llaqñi- 'to put out green leaves, ch'aqñi- 'to gleam' (Middendorf 1890 [1970], 1890).

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

Taking an interpretation of the verb *ñi-* as 'say', 'attribute' or 'ascribe', the nominal expression of possessor Person might be reconstructed as the periphrasis:

*wasi-ni-y* <- \**wasi* # *ñiy* 'the house say I'.

*wasi-ni-yki* <- \**wasi* # *ñiyki* 'the house I say / ascribe to you'

*wasi-ni-n* <- \**wasi* # *ñin* 'the house he says, lays claim to';

'it is said' (if 3rd Person unmarked)

*wasi-ni-nchis* <- \**wasi* # *ñinchis* 'the house we (inclusive) say /

claim'; 'it is said - plural' (if 3rd Person unmarked)

Such an interpretation differs from the verbal marking of Person only in the First Person:

cf. \**wasi* # *ñiy* 'the house I say / attribute (to myself)'

*Hamuy! ñini* '"Come here!", I say'

Although the usual verbal marker of First Person (singular) in CQ is *-ni* (*rima-ni* 'I speak'), the form *-y* is attested in the conditional 'tense' (*rima-yman* 'I would speak'), for First Person (plural) (*rima-yku* 'we (excl.) speak') and in the transition 'First to Second Person' (*rima-yki* 'I speak to you'). (Cuzco Quechua)

The present form of *ñi-* for First Person *ñini*, 'I say', might be attributed to reduplication, introduced to differentiate this from the auxiliary use of the same verb-root. With a different motive, Adelaar raises a similar possibility (based on a form of First Person found in Southern QI, *-V:ni*, *-V:ni:*, the more usual form in QI being *-V:*):

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

"double first-person marking in Proto-Quechua may have been an alternative for plain first-person marking in Proto-Quechua; but while it developed into a new marker *-ni* in Quechua II, it survived as a sort of variable rule in Quechua I." (Adelaar, 1984)

The reconstruction of 'possessor' Person is supported by several factors:

1. The resultant identification of nominal and verbal expressions of Person. This is found in QI, and may be assumed to have been true of Proto-Quechua. Note that where Cerrón-Palomino suggests that the verbal marker of First Person in QII, *ni-*, may have been 'replaced' by the 'empty morph' of the nominal system (Cerrón-Palomino 1987), that same morph is now seen to have had a part in the expression of First Person from the beginning, pre-dating the development of the nominal suffixes.
2. The derivation of Second Person 'possessive' is identified with the transitional form, 'First to Second Person', *-yki-*, rather than with the simple subject-only form, *-nki-*. This would be compatible with an interpretation '[noun] which I ascribe to you'. Considerable effort has gone into attempts to reconcile the differences between nominal and verbal markers of Second Person, *-yki-* and *-nki-* respectively, again based on the premise of identity between the nominal and verbal markers of Person in Proto-Quechua.

The anomaly ceases to be a problem once it is acknowledged that nominal Person may have developed on the basis of transitional, as well as

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

subject-only verbal expression. If, as it now appears, the form of nominal Second Person was derived from the transition, 1stP:2ndP, the form of First Person, *y*, can be seen to have remained as a fossil within the morpheme of 'Second Person', following the morphologising of the original periphrastic expression of possession.

3. Not only is the form of Second Person compatible with an interpretation 'I say / ascribe to you', the Dative origin of the Genitive construction (Ch. 3) is also supportive.

qan - pa      wasi - yki      'your house'

'you' - 'of'    'house' - 'your'

Gen.

<- \*qan - paq      wasi    ŋi-yki      'your house ~ the house I say to you'

'you' - 'to'    'house'    'say' - 1:2

Dat.

Granted a transitional reconstruction of the nominal possessor 'Second Person', that Person would be interpreted as the addressee of the speaker's remarks.

The correlation of a lack of possessor suffixes and 'empty morph' with the formal (and virtual) identity of the Genitive and Dative case-suffixes in the dialects of QII-B provides further support for a transitional reconstruction of Second Person. Where the periphrasis 'X-Dat. [noun] ŋi-yki', etc. did not develop, there was no need for the Dative case suffix to acquire a distinct 'Genitive' function.

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

In such dialects, possession continues to be expressed by means of the Dative construction (wrongly interpreted as 'Genitive'), by apposition, or by a mixture of these:

pi-pata carca chi? 'whose were they?'

nucanchi-pa 'ours'

pero pi-pa? [cam-ba taytal-pa obe cam-ba?

'but whose? [your father]'s or yours?

[nuca taytal-pa ' [my father]'s'

imata [[cam-ba taytal] sutil cá? 'what's [[your father]'s name?]

[[nuca taytal] sutil cá Ramón. '[[My father]'s name] is Ramón'

(Inga, Levinsohn 1976)

With this reconstruction, the need to derive the form of the Proto-Quechua Dative \*paq on the basis of a merger of function of Genitive pa and Agent q, as suggested by Cerrón-Palomino (1987) becomes wholly untenable. Far from a merger, it is the derivation of the Genitive from the historically more basic Dative which accounts for the formal and semantic similarities they still share.

### Conclusion:

The allomorphy of the nominal Person-markers of CQ bears a number of similarities to other allomorphies seen previously. As before, allomorphy was the result of the partial blocking of a historical deletion process, prevented in the post-C environment, for reasons of structure. In this case, the material to be deleted was the morph-form, /ni/, formerly functioning as an auxiliary verb, but left redundant

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

after a process of affixation superseded the earlier periphrasis. Having lost its original semantic-syntactic function, *ni* has now assumed the status of 'auxiliary morph', inserted to facilitate the affixation of other, meaning-bearing morphs, even in environments where it did not figure previously, such as with 'new' lexical items, drawn from Spanish, e.g. *familiar-ni-yki* 'your family', *Dios-ni-nchis* 'Our Lord (God)'

(Valderrama - Escalante 1982).

### The Reconstruction of Proto-Quechua Person:

The failure to give a satisfactory reconstruction of the marking of Person in Proto-Quechua can be attributed in large part to the oversight of this 'empty' component. Reconstruction has been focussed around the form of the First Person marker. Of all Persons, this shows the greatest variety of form, so that the likelihood of finding a useful cognate must therefore be greatly increased.

The marking of Quechua generally falls into one of two types, distinguishing the varieties of QI from those of QII:

	QI <sup>5</sup>	QII	(Pacaraos) <sup>6</sup>
verbal	-V:	-ni, -y	-ŷy
nominal	-V:	-y	-ŷy (Cerrón-Palomino 1987, Adelaar 1984)

I include the information for the dialect of Pacaraos (Huaral, Lima), as this is considered to represent a 'half-way house' between the two main branches of Quechua, QI and QII.

5.- i.e., vowel-length    6.- a final stressed vowel, plus /y/



## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

Most attempts at reconstruction have taken as their starting point the current forms of either the QI or the QII dialects.

"The first-person marker to be reconstructed for Proto-Quechua can be either identical to that in one of the modern dialects, or it can differ from all first-person markers that are actually in use. It seems reasonable to give priority to the first possibility. Only if no satisfactory result can be obtained in this way should the second possibility be investigated." (Adelaar, 1984)

The expression of Person in QI is taken to be identical between nominal and verbal forms, and the assumption is made that this would have been true of QII and PQ also. The choice therefore would seem to be whether to base a reconstruction on the form of QI, vowel-length, or on the common denominator of QI, y.

Owing to the inadequate attention paid thus far to the role of the 'empty morph' in the construction of nominal Person markers, no-one has yet attempted a reconstruction based on the post-consonant nominal forms of Person, deeming these to be 'variants' based on the forms of post-V. With the inclusion of these forms, a third set of variants may be added to the range of 'basic' markers of Person in Quechua, thus:

	QI	QII	(Pacaraos)
verbal	-V:	-ni, -y	-ŷy
nominal (post-V)	-V:	-y	-ŷy
nominal (post-C)	-ni:	-niy	-niŷy

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

Given my own reconstruction of the post-vocalic forms of Person as derivatives of the post-C varieties, this would seem to offer a useful basis for the wider reconstruction of Person in PQ. However, even where a connection has been suggested between nominal (post-C) and the verbal form of First Person, *-ni*, it has been assumed that the latter represents a post Proto-Quechua substitution of the 'empty morph' for another earlier form (Cerrón-Palomino, 1987). The motivation for such a substitution is unclear; the verb-stem, being always V-final, offers no structural difficulties parallel to those of nominal Person, in post-C.

Arguments for a reconstruction of PQ First Person, based on the forms of either QI or QII, have tended to fall down on the basis that they require sequences of sound-changes that are not paralleled elsewhere in the phonology of the relevant dialects. (Adelaar, 1984) No explanation has been offered for the origins of the 'empty morph', or for the relationship between this and the formally similar First Person verbal marker in QII, except as substitution of the same 'empty morph' (Torero 1964, Cerrón-Palomino 1979, 1987).

I would propose a reconstruction of Person in Proto-Quechua that takes the forms including the 'empty morph', *ni*, along with its verbal counterpart, *n*, (albeit of uncertain role), to be fundamental to such expression. Rather than resorting to *ad hoc* rules of phonological change, devised to account for hypothesised substitutions of sound, I believe that many of the developments of form may be attributed to morpho-syntactic change. With the morphologising of a previously syntactic construction, the loss of elements of an early auxiliary, *fin*,

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

may be accounted for in terms of functional redundancy, rather than by general rules of phonological erosion, applicable throughout the language.

### CQ suffixes of Person - Verbal:

In my initial approach to the analysis of verbal Person in CQ it seemed that an empty morph, *n*, comparable to the nominal *ni*, might be implicated here also. Indeed the similarity of form /*fi*/ ~ /*n*/ in itself seems to suggest a kind of allomorphic relationship between auxiliary morphs. Although the two may not in fact be identified as formal variants, the relationship between them remains a close one.

The removal of such a morph, *n*, if this could be justified, would leave a much more unified system of verbal Person markers than otherwise appears for CQ. The differences between the various representations of each Person might then be attributed to a +/- *n* allomorphy, similar to the +/- *ni* allomorphy of nominal Person.

cf.	1st Person	<i>ni</i>	->	<i>i</i>
	1st Person plural	<i>yku</i>	->	<i>y ku</i>
	2nd Person	<i>nki</i>	->	<i>ki</i>
	2nd Person plural	<i>nkichis</i>	->	<i>ki chis</i>
	3rd Person	<i>n</i>	->	$\emptyset$
	3rd Person plural	<i>nku</i>	->	$\emptyset ku$
	Inclusive	<i>nchis</i>	->	$\emptyset chis$
cf.	3rd Person narrative	<i>(sqa)-<math>\emptyset</math></i>	->	$\emptyset$

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

Thus, 1stP: ni ~ y > i, y

2ndP: nki > ki

3rdP: n ~ Ø > Ø (unmarked)

'inclusive': nchis > Ø (unmarked) + 'plural'

with 'plural': ku [-2ndP], chis [+2ndP]

This would suggest a system marked for only two Persons, First and Second, speaker and interlocutor.

### Contemporary CQ - a 4-Person system:

Since forms such as wasi

wasi-n

wasi-nchis

rima-n

rima-nchis

are now semantically distinctive, as 'house', 'his house', 'our (incl.) house', 'he speaks', 'we (incl.) speak', the relevance of both Third and Inclusive Persons to contemporary CQ is indisputable, for nominal and verb-subject, at least. For verb-Object, Third Person is not marked. One consequence of this is seen in the regular failure of Quechua-speakers to use the Spanish object pronouns (Klee, 1990).

As representative of the Proto-system of Person-marking for Quechua, if not of contemporary CQ, such an analysis would depend on the ability to isolate this rogue n from the forms of Person. I will return to the source of this form later.

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

### Proto-Quechua - a 2-Person system:

I would like to propose a feature-analysis of Person for PQ, comparable to that used in the definition of phonemes, whereby the marked categories of Person would be defined by the relevance or non-relevance of two semantic features: speaker and interlocutor. Such a calculus gives a series of four potentially marked Persons:

		speaker	
		+	-
		-----	
	+		*    *
interlocutor			
	-		*    *

Correlated with the four-term system of modern CQ, these four Persons may be identified as follows:

First Person:	[+ speaker	]	Second Person:	[- speaker	]
	[- interlocutor	]		[+ interlocutor	]
Inclusive:	[+ speaker	]	Third Person <sup>7</sup> :	[- speaker	]
	[+ interlocutor	]		[- interlocutor	]

This means that the number of markable semantic features is less than the number of marked 'Persons', or logical combinations of these.

-----

7.- The traditional label, 'Third' Person, may not be entirely appropriate here, as this Person is defined negatively, as simply 'other', i.e. not-speaker and not-interlocutor.

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

Note: These features should not be confused with the 'semantic components' of Wonderly (1952). Where his was an attempt to identify the morpheme-constituents of the transitional verb-forms, the present 'semantic features' would have sub-morphemic status.

In Proto-Quechua, only two of these possibilities were marked:

The remaining two, 3rdP [-1 -2] would have been unmarked, while Inclusive [+1 +2] may simply have been a formal combination of First and Second Person markers, not itself distinctive, but probably becoming so at a very early stage, which we might still want to describe as 'Proto-Quechua, dating before the spread and split of QI and QII variants.

### Identification of n:

The attempt to isolate a role for the potential empty morph n has not been a particularly fruitful one. Although I believe its original distribution may be identified, its semantic function is not certain.

The distribution of this form is not systematic like that of ni, and it does not seem to be needed for structural reasons. My initial hypothesis was that this n might have a role as a 'filler' in syllable-final position, i.e. to close the syllable. This suggestion was subsequently rejected, for lack of empirical evidence of the need for any such syllable-closure in Quechua. However, with the example of the 'euphonic' /y/ found optionally in verb-stems (ch.4), the possibility might yet merit consideration.

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

Having isolated the contribution of *n* from the marking of Third and Inclusive Persons, the remaining form seems to be without semantic content. On this occasion, no suitable cognate appears elsewhere in the language to shed further light on the problem.

A few others have also attempted to isolate such a morph from the markers of Person. The main problem with such analyses, is that their assumed appropriateness to the contemporary language cannot be justified.

Middendorf constructs the verbal forms of Quechua on the following basis:

root - consonant of modus [mood] - tense - ending

The indicative tense is derived thus,

"ca - n - y	=	yo soy.	ca - n - (n)chis.
ca - n - (y)qui			ca - (n) - ycu.
ca - n - (n).			ca - n - (y)quichis.
			ca - n - (n)cu."

The above gives a kind of underlying form for verbal construction.

Endings are based on the possessive forms. The elements in brackets do not occur in actual speech:

"The letter in brackets are excluded from the conjugation of the verb, partly for considerations of euphony, and partly because, being repeated, they would be superfluous."

(Middendorf 1890 [1970], m. t.)

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

More recently, Cusihamán and Solá (1975) have isolated a suffix, *n*, 'potential aspect', constructing the simple present tense thus,

root - aspect - person

ri - n - iy ('I go')

ri - n - ki

ri - n (unmarked, but used for 3rd Person)

ri - n - chis (deferential plural, unmarked for Person)

I cannot tell how much this analysis may owe to the inspiration of Middendorf.

Interestingly, this same suffix of potential aspect may be found in expressions of concrete action along with the suffix of 'actual aspect' ('aspecto puntual'), *s*, which characterises such verb-forms,

e.g. ris-kaniy 'I go, I am going'

or ri+s-kaniy,

where *s* implies an action occurring at a given moment or time?

These analyses describe a function of *n* which is that of 'indicative consonant' (one of the consonants of mood) or 'suffix of potential aspect', respectively. Such labels give the appearance of having been applied retrospectively, in an attempt to identify a morpheme where initially only the form was discovered. I am not convinced that in either case the attempt is a successful one. The terms 'indicative mood' and 'potential aspect', deriving from traditional grammar, may be coincidentally true of such verbal expressions but fail to establish the true role of *n* here.



## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

Although an explanation for the role of *n* may not be forthcoming from the verbal expression of Person alone, taken in conjunction with the known derivational history of (nominal) Person, an improved description of the early function of this 'empty' *n* can be made.

### Verbal Person in Proto-Quechua:

Taking from the allomorphy of nominal Person the conclusion that this was derived from verbal usage, pointing to a reconstruction:

---- # aux. + Person,

the role of the 'empty morph' may be assumed to apply to the development of the contemporary verbal paradigms of Person in CQ also. Re-inserting that 'empty morph' (now seen as the former auxiliary *ñi-* 'to say') into the present verbal forms gives a result very similar to the contemporary 'conjugation' of the verb *ñi-*, itself:

'to speak'	'to say'
rima # <i>ñi-y</i> <sup>8</sup>	<i>ñi-ni</i>
rima # <i>ñi-nki</i>	<i>ñi-nki</i>
rima # <i>ñi-n</i>	<i>ñi-n</i>
rima # <i>ñi-nchis</i>	<i>ñi-nchis</i>
rima # <i>ñi-yku</i> <sup>9</sup>	<i>ñi-yku</i>
rima # <i>ñi-nkichis</i>	<i>ñi-nkichis</i>
rima # <i>ñi-nku</i>	<i>ñi-nku</i>

8.- First Person verbal is assumed to have been identical with First Person nominal. The *y* of First Person is otherwise attested (above).

9.- Attested in Ayacucho Quechua (QII-C) *-niku* 'we (excl.)' (Soto 1976)

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

At this point, the argument for an origin *ñi-* 'say' of the 'empty morph' *ni* might be in danger of becoming circular. However, I believe the similarity between the verbal paradigm and that of contemporary *ñi-* is rather less than would appear here. Assuming *n* to have been an 'empty morph' comparable to *ni*, this too must have a place throughout the reconstruction of verbal Person. At present, it remains saliently lacking from the forms of First Person, singular and plural:

---#*ñiy*, ---#*ñiyku*

I return therefore to the variation observed in connection with the reconstruction of Agent, *\*-qe* (Ch. 3):

*qhapaqquenñiyki* 'he who is richer than you'

*qhapaqninñiy* 'he who is richer than I'

*ñucñunñiy* 'one who is gentler than I'

*khuyaqñinñinchic* 'those who are sorry for us'

(González Holguín, 1607 [1901])

If the *n* of such examples is indeed historically associated with the expression of Person, rather than with the preceding Agent morpheme, and assuming Person to have derived on the basis of a use of the auxiliary verb *ñi-*, these variants would seem to offer a reconstruction:

\*----# *nñi*----

The reconstruction of such a form, *nñi*, would be invalidated by the word-initial consonant cluster. However, bearing in mind cases of metathesis seen previously, where a change of form CVC → CCV was required to enable affixation to become possible, this would suggest the implication of a similar process here:

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

---- # *ñin* # *y(a)*

-> ---- *nñi* *y*

cf. \*---*ñiny*# (i.e. \*---*CC*#)<sup>10</sup>

This would imply a double affixation process, involving the final two component parts of the initial syntactic expression:

--- # *ñin* # FirstP. root (i.e. not suffix)

I therefore propose that this represents the origin of the suffixed expression of Person in CQ, deriving all suffixes of Person on the basis of a periphrasis involving *ñin* ('says') and the root morphemes, or independent Person pronouns.

Note: I have suggested a proto-form of the First Person pronoun: *ya*, and not the present form in CQ, *noqa*. The existence of cognates *ñuñu* and *ya'a* in Quechua I, Junín, has already prompted the reconstruction of two First Person pronouns for Proto-Quechua, \**yaqa* and \**ñuqa* (Cerrón-Palomino 1977). Taking the common element, /qa/ to be the topic marker, -qa, this would give a mono-syllabic origin for First Person, \**ñu* or \**ya*, comparable to that of Second Person, \**ki*. The same reconstruction might as easily have been derived by the addition of /a/, as the most

-----

10.- Gen. -paq -> -qpa-, (Ch.3); Fut. -saq -> -sqa- (Ch.4); and possibly -taq -> -qta- (Direct Object), -raq -> -rqa- 'Past';  
-min -> \**nmi*, W.V.

e.g. -saq# '1stP Future' -> *sqa-yki* '1:2, Future'.

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

neutral vowel of Quechua, to the untypical single-C root form:

y <- \*ya, (i.e. C <- CV).

Taking the pronoun in its deleted form, y, metathesis would have been required of ñin to avoid an unacceptable consonant-grouping before the First Person marker, but not elsewhere. This would give a reconstruction of the verbal suffixes of Person (subject):

--- # ñin # y	-> ---- nñiy	First Person
--- # ñin # ki	-> ---- ñinki	Second Person
--- # ñin # Ø	-> ---- ñin	unmarked
--- # ñin # chis	-> ---- ñinchis	unmarked for Person,

marked for Plural

As with 'Future First to Second Person': sayki <- sqayki <- \*saq#ñiyki, the result of metathesis, CCV (nñi), would have been subject to consonant-cluster simplification: --nñi -> ñi or ni

With subsequent deletion of the 'empty morph' (parallelling the same deletion which affected the nominal Person forms), this would give a further development:

---nñiy	-> niy	-> ni
---ñinki	-> nki	
---ñin	-> n	
---ñinchis	-> nchis	

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

The retention of *ni* in the First Person might be motivated by the desire to maintain a formal difference between this and the forms of the Vocative, Imperative, and Infinitive (probably derived on a similar basis).''

The retention of *n* in what are now the forms of Third and Inclusive Persons, has no obvious justification. It is not retained in CQ

'narrative past': hamusqa-Ø 'they say he came'

or 'future': hamunqa-Ø 'he will come'

or in Ayacucho 'simple past' : hamura-Ø 'he came' (Soto, 1976)

The reintroduction of *n* in CQ hamurqa-*n* ('he came'), may be taken to have been influenced by analogy with the unmarked tense form: hamu-*n* ('he comes')

It may be that this *n* was indeed preferred because of its role as a filler of syllable-final position. However, it is more likely that the unmarked forms, ---*n* and ---*nchis* had already been reinterpreted as the forms of the emerging categories of 'Third Person' and 'Inclusive' (thus leading to the marking of all four potential combinations of the semantic features of First and Second Persons suggested earlier.)

11.- Vocative: 'father!' *taytáy!* (<- \**tayta* *ñiy*, cf. Pacaraos *ýy* '1stP') 'Second Person'. Imperative: 'come!' *hamuy!*, placed in the mouth of the speaker, (<- \**hamu* *ñiy* \*'Come!' I say'); infinitive: *hamuy* 'to come', 'coming')

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

This leaves the problem of the identification of *n* in the reconstructed auxiliary form, *fin*. while I cannot justify the reason for its presence there, I believe the actual presence is itself justified by the above reconstruction. Perhaps its function might truly have been euphonic, comparable to the role of the verbal /y/ seen above (Ch. 4).

Such an *n* might have been introduced as a closure to the word-form rather than the syllable. With the Quechua abhorrence of the sequence -VV-, (Ch. 1), and considering the existence of a considerable number of V-initial root morphemes, a word-final consonant could be seen to offer some advantage as a means of avoiding the vowel-sequence: --V#V--. If true, this would provide some motivation for the process of Vowel-Deletion as it affected the word-final suffixes, -mi and -si, (CV) seen in Chapter 2, the cause of which remained undetermined.

Note: Interestingly, a related use of the enclitic form *fin* is attested in Imbabura Quechua (Ecuador, QII-B, (Jake and Chuquín, 1976) The form is used as a means of validation, and does not carry the interpretation 'say' applied to *fi-* in its most common usage.

Although the details of such a reconstruction may require further refinement, in the absence of further cognate evidence such reconstruction would be highly speculative at the present time. Nonetheless, I believe the basic principles of the reconstruction remain, that of a syntactic origin of the present CQ suffixes of Person, based on the use of the auxiliary verb, *fi-*. Most of the allomorphy which resulted in the course of such development has now been raised to

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

morpheme-status, as new semantic distinctions evolved, including the addition of two further Persons, Third and Inclusive, and the distinction between nominal and verbal Person suffixes.<sup>12</sup>

### Transitional forms:

I believe that the transitional markers of verbal Person in CQ were probably derived on the basis of a similar periphrasis, the initial use of auxiliary *ka-*, ('be') being replaced by one of *ñi-* ('say') at a later date, by analogy with the emerging pronoun suffixes. However, I am unable to offer a more detailed reconstruction at this point, as this must already verge on the speculative.

cf. \*--wa-q # ka-nki      2:1

-> \*--waqkanki#

-> --wa( )nki#

\*--wa-q # ka-n      3:1

-> \*--waqkan#

-> \*--wan#

Finally, I note the evidence of potential 'fossils', *mayqenniykichis*, *pinniyki* 'which of you?', (\*ima (ñe)qe ñin y(a) ki chis, \*pi-ñin-yki)

-----

12.- This must inevitably place a question on the authenticity of the noun : verb distinction for root morphemes of Quechua, based currently on their capacity to combine with either 'nominal' or 'verbal' suffixes.

## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

### Conclusion:

The allomorphy of Person in CQ seems to have been, as Rudes would put it, 'a recipe for linguistic leftovers' (in Fisiak, 1980).

Starting with the use of an auxiliary form *ñin* and the independent pronouns *ya*, and *ki*, the development of the pronominal suffix of CQ was accompanied by the abandoning of all redundant linguistic material. In some circumstances, e.g. post-C ('possessive'), such material was retained, for reasons of structure, and acquired a new 'auxiliary function'. In the verbal system, most traces of *ñin* were lost, except for First Person *-ni*, and some remnant *ns*, possibly retained for reasons of euphony, but subsequently reinterpreted as the form of Third Person and as part of the form of Inclusive *nchis*. A Third Person object has not developed thus far.

I had predicted that allomorphy had no part in Proto-Quechua. This has been shown to be true of all potential cases of allomorphy studied in this thesis, with the exception of the optional verbal /y/, now considered phonological, (being unsystematic and serving no structural function).

All allomorphy has proven to be the indirect result of affixation, and its resultant anomalies of form. Such anomalies should not be surprising. The preferred forms of suffixes differing from those of roots, and those of medial suffixes differing again from final ones, a change of category (such as root → suffix → medial suffix) could be



## CHAPTER 5 : Allomorphy of Person

expected to involve a change of form also, in order to conform to the requirements of the morpheme's new position.

The conditions taking priority over allomorphy were these: the avoidance of ambiguity, and the maintenance of preferred syllable structures. These seem to be designed with the primary function of easing affixation. Although not essential, the form CV seems to have been preferred for all (word-internal) morphemes as the most convenient to affixation.

Overall, allomorphy reveals a syntactic role in the history of the development of Quechua suffixes which is now much underestimated, so that the aphorism 'Today's morphology is yesterday's syntax'<sup>13</sup> proves to be true of Cuzco Quechua, although this was not a conclusion I had anticipated at the outset.

With reference to my initial suggestion that allomorphy marks a lack of economy in a linguistic system, it should be observed that while the system of Cuzco Quechua may not be the most economical in terms of forms per functioning unit, the ability to develop new categories of Person-marker (nominal, verbal and transitional) and of Person, (Third and Inclusive), on this basis indicates a highly efficient, if opportunist, system of communication.

---

13. - Givón (1971), quoted by Anderson, 1980.

# APPENDIX

## Suffixes of Person in Cuzco Quechua

### nominal

		<u>participle</u>
wasi-y	yawar-ni-y	qhawa-spa-y
wasi-yki	yawar-ni-yki	qhawa-spa-yki
wasi-n	yawar-ni-n	qhawa-spa-n
wasi-nchis	yawar-ni-nchis	qhawa-spa-nchis
wasi-yku	yawar-ni-yku	qhawa-spa-yku
wasi-ykichis	yawar-ni-ykichis	qhawa-spa-ykichis
wasi-nku	yawar-ni-nku	qhawa-spa-nku
'my house', etc.	'my blood', etc.	'(on) my looking', 'while I was looking', etc.

### verbal

<u>Tense unmarked</u>	<u>Past Tense</u>	<u>Narrative Past</u>
qhawa-ni	qhawa-rqa-ni	qhawa-sqa-ni
qhawa-nki	qhawa-rqa-nki	qhawa-sqa-nki
qhawa-n	qhawa-rqa-n	qhawa-sqa-Ø
qhawa-nchis	qhawa-rqa-nchis	qhawa-sqa-nchis
qhawa-yku	qhawa-rqa-yku	qhawa-sqa-yku
qhawa-nkichis	qhawa-rqa-nkichis	qhawa-sqa-nkichis
qhawa-nku	qhawa-rqa-nku	qhawa-sqa-Ø-ku
'I look', etc.	'I looked', etc.	'I looked (they say)', etc.

### Future Tense

<u>Future Tense</u>	<u>Conditional Mood</u>
qhawa-saq	qhawa-y-man
qhawa-nki	qhawa-waq
qhawa-nqa-Ø	qhawa-n-man
qhawa-sunchis	qhawa-sun(chis)-man / -swan
qhawa-saqku	qhawa-yku-man
qhawa-nkichis	qhawa-waqchis
qhawa-nqa-Ø-ku	qhawa-nku-man
'I will look', etc.	'I would look', etc.

### Imperative

qhawa-y	'Look!' ('you', sg.)
qhawa-ychis	'Look!' ('you', plural)
qhawa-sun(chis)	'Let's look!'
qhawa-chu-n	'Let him/her look!'
qhawa-chu-nku	'Let them look!'

### Transitional

qhawa-yki	'I look at you'	1:2
qhawa-wa-nki	'You look at me'	2:1
qhawa-wa-n	'(S)he looks at me'	3:2
qhawa-su-nki	'(S)he looks at you'	3:2

- Bibliography -

- ADELAAR, Willem F.H.  
 "Incidental Changes in the Suffix Part of Quechua Verbs.",  
Lingua, 56, 59-73. North-Holland Publishing Co. 1982
- ADELAAR, Willem F.H.  
 "Grammatical Vowel Length and the Classification of Quechua  
 Dialects", IJAL vol.50, no.1 Jan. 1984
- AITCHISON, Jean  
Language Change: Progress or Decay?, Fontana, Richard Clay  
 (The Chaucer Press) Bungay, Suffolk 1981
- ALBÓ, Xavier  
El quechua a su alcance, vol. I, Avanza Del Progreso,  
 La Paz 1964
- ALBÓ, Xavier  
Los Mil Rostros del Quechua. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos,  
 Lima 1974
- ANDERSEN, Henning  
 "Morphological change: towards a typology", (ed. Fisiak, 1-50)  
 1980
- ANDERSON, Stephen R.  
 "On the development of morphology from syntax", (ed. Fisiak,  
 51-69) 1980
- ANON, ed. MENESES, Teodoro M.L.  
Usca Paucar, Drama quechua del siglo XVIII, Introducción,  
 Traducción y Notas. Primera Edición Crítica. Biblioteca de la  
 sociedad peruana de historia, Serie 10, Monografías 1.  
 Sobretiro de la revista Documenta, 11-1 Lima 1951
- ANON, ed. AGUILAR PAEZ, Rafael  
Gramática Quechua y Vocabularios (Adaptación de la primera  
 edición de la obra de Antonio Ricardo "ARTE, Y VOCABULARIO EN  
 LA LENGVA GENERAL DEL PERU LLAMADA QUICHUA, Y EN LA LENGUA  
 ESPAÑOLA". Lima 1586. Universidad Nacional de San Marcos, Lima  
 1970
- ARGUEDAS, José M<sup>a</sup> and Pierre DUVIOLS, eds.  
Dioses y Hombres de Huarochirí AVILA, (F<sup>o</sup> de), Tratado y  
 relacion de los errores, falsos Dioses, y otras  
 supersticiones, y ritos diabólicos en q̄ viuián antiguamente  
 los ylois (yndios) de las Prouincias de Huaracheri...  
 Lima 1966
- ANON, ed. BARRANCA, J.S., MIRÓ, C. and S.SALAZAR BONDY  
Ollantay, versión original quechua y versiones castellanas.  
 Editorial Universo Lima 1973

- Bibliography -

- ASTETE Chocano, Santiago  
 "El Verbo Qêshua", in Inka Rimay, 29-31, ed. J.G. Gutiérrez L.  
 Organo de la Academia de la lengua Quechua. Año 1. No. 1  
 Cusco 1963
- de AVILA, Francisco  
Dioses y Hombres de Huarochirí, in ARGUEDAS-DUVIOLS 1966, and  
 TAYLOR 1980
- BERRIOS, José David  
Elementos de gramática de la Lengua Keshua, González y Medina  
 - Libreros Editores, La Paz, Bolivia 1919 (1904)
- BLOOMFIELD, L.  
Language Allen and Unwin London 1933
- BOOTHROYD, Margaret A.  
Usipi Willakuykuna - Literatura De Usi, Unidad Regional de  
 Educación Bilingüe Cusco 1978
- BRAVO, Domingo A.  
¿Quiere Usted Aprender Quechua?, método práctico para la  
 enseñanza y aprendizaje del idioma., Instituto Amigos del  
 Libro Argentino, Publicaciones CEBIL, Buenos Aires 1970
- BREND, Ruth M., ed.  
Advances in Tagmemics, North-Holland Linguistic Series - 9,  
 North-Holland Publishing Co.: Amsterdam and London;  
 American Elsevier Publishing Co, Inc: NY 1974
- CÁRDENAS, Victor H. and Javier ALBÓ  
 "El Aymara", in Pottier\* 283-310 1983
- CENTENO de Osma, Gabriel  
El Pobre Más Rico, Comedia Quechua del Siglo XVI, ed. and  
 translated: José M.B. FARFÁN and Humberto SUÁREZ Álvarez,  
 Editorial Lumen SA, Lima 1938
- CERRÓN-PALOMINO, Rodolfo  
 "Fonología del Wanka", in Cerrón-Palomino, Creider, Escobar  
 and Parker\*, Lima 1967
- Cuatro Fonologías Quechuas\* 53-80  
 1967
- CERRÓN-PALOMINO, Rodolfo  
 "La enseñanza del castellano: deslindes y perspectivas", in  
 Escobar\* 1972
- CERRÓN-PALOMINO, Rodolfo  
Huanca Quechua Dialectology, Univ. /San Marcos,  
 London 1977

- Bibliography -

- CERRÓN-PALOMINO, Rodolfo  
 "La reconstrucción del Protoquechua", Revista Andina 3/1  
 1984
- CERRÓN-PALOMINO, Rodolfo  
Lingüística Quechua Biblioteca de la Tradición Oral Andina - 8  
 Cuzco 1987
- CERRÓN-PALOMINO, R., CREIDER, J., ESCOBAR, A. and G. J. PARKER  
Cuatro Fonologías Quechuas, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San  
 Martín, Plan de Fomento Lingüístico, Serie Fonologías: 1  
 Lima 1967
- COBO, B.  
History of the Inca Empire, (Historia del Nuevo Mundo), trans.  
 and ed. Hamilton, University of Texas Press, London 1979 [1653]
- COLEGIO DE PROPAGANDA FIDE DE PERU  
Vocabulario Poliglota Incaico, ... voces de keshua del Cuzco,  
 Ayacucho, Junín, Ancash y Aymará.  
 Lima 1905
- COOMBS, David, Heidi COOMBS and Robt. WEBER  
Gramática Quechua: San Martín Ministerio de Educación,  
 Instituto de Estudios Peruanos  
 Lima 1976
- CREIDER, J.  
 "Fonología del Quechua de Picoy", in Cerrón-Palomino, Creider,  
 Escobar and Parker\*, 41-52  
 1967
- CRYSTAL, David  
Linguistics, Penguin  
 Harmondsworth 1971
- CUSIHUAMÁN G., Antonio  
Gramática Quechua: Cuzco-Collao, Ministerio de Educación,  
 Instituto de Estudios Peruanos  
 Lima 1976a
- CUSIHUAMÁN G., Antonio  
Diccionario Quechua: Cuzco-Collao, Ministerio de Educación,  
 Instituto de Estudios Peruanos  
 Lima 1976b
- CUSIHUAMÁN G., Antonio  
 "Cuzco Quechua Enclitics", M. A. thesis, Univ. /Cornell  
 Jan. 1976c
- DÁVALOS, Juan Benjamín  
Gramática elemental de la lengua quechua,  
 Lima n. d., prólogo 1938
- DEDENBACH-SALAZAR, S. and P. MASSON  
 "Los sufijos en el Quechua Ayacuchano: Esbozo de una Sistema  
 Didáctica y Analítica", Indiana 11,  
 Berlín 1987

- Bibliography -

- DUMÉZIL, Georges  
 "Sistema de los Sonidos", traducción André Appied, Inka Rimay,  
 43-50 Notas Gramaticales. 1963
- ELSON, Benjamin + Velma PICKETT:  
An Introduction to Morphology and Syntax, SIL Santa Ana,  
 California., Printed in Mexico - 4th ed. 1965
- ESCOBAR, Alberto  
 "Andes: Informe sobre el Perú.", in Simposio\* Bogotá 1965
- ESCOBAR, Alberto  
 "Fonología del Quechua de Yanacocha", in Cerrón-Palomino,  
 Creider, Escobar and Parker\*, 7-24 Lima 1967
- ESCOBAR, Alberto  
 "Lingüística y Política", in Escobar\* Lima 1972
- ESCOBAR, Alberto, ed.  
El Reto del Multilingüismo en el Perú., IEP, Lima 1972
- ESCOBAR, Alberto, G.J.PARKER, CREIDER and R. CERRÓN-PALOMINO  
Cuatro Fonologías Quechuas, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San  
 Marcos, Plan de Fomento Lingüístico. Serie: Fonologías: 1  
 Lima 1967
- ESCOBAR M., Gabriel  
 'The Words of the Quechua Waynos of Cuzco', Latin American  
 Indian Literatures (A Review of American Indian Texts and  
 Studies) vol.8, no.1 Univ./Pittsburgh spring 1984
- ESCRIBENS, A. and Paul PROULX  
Gramática del Quechua de Huaylas, Universidad Nacional Mayor  
 de San Marcos, Plan de Fomento Lingüístico, Serie :  
 Gramáticas, 4 Lima 1970
- FARFÁN, José M.B.  
Clave de la Lengua Quechua Con Vocabulario Quechua-Español-  
Inglés, Imprenta "Palabra Libre" Lima 1940
- FARFÁN, José M.B.  
 "La Clave del Lenguaje Quechua del Cusco" (Sobretiro de la  
Revista del Museo Nacional, Tomo X, No.2, Imprenta del Museo  
 Nacional Lima 1941
- FARFÁN, José M.B.  
Dichos y Refranes Quechuas Inclusive Algunos en Lengua Aymara,  
 Sobretiro de la Revista del Museo Nacional, Tomo XXIX  
 Lima 1960
- FARFÁN, José M.B.  
 "Colección de textos quechuas del Perú.", Runa Kawsay  
 (Fragmento)., (Sobretiro de la Revista del Museo Nacional,  
 vol.32), Lima 1963

- FISIAK, ed.  
 "Historical Morphology", Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs, 17, ed. Werner-Winter, Mouton: The Hague, Paris, New York 1980
- GALANTE, Hipólito  
Gramática Quechua, traducción de la primera edición latina [1938] por Fernando Tola Mendoz y S.E. Artunez de Mayolo after June 1939
- GALVÁN, Luis Enrique  
 "La Sólida Estructura orgánica y gramatical del Keshwa."  
Kunan, órgano de Publicidad del Instituto de lenguas aborígenes "ILA" vol. 1, yr. 1. Lima May 1962
- GARDNER, Sheena F. and Sándor G.J. HERVEY  
 "Structural Sentence Types", La Linguistique, vol. 19 1983
- GONZÁLEZ de HOLGUÍN, Diego (ed. J.G.N. LOBATO)  
Arte y Diccionario Qquechua - Español, corregido y aumentado por los RR.FP.Redentoristas al que en 1608 [1607] publicó el rvdo.P.Diego González de Holguín S.J. en esta ciudad de Los Reyes, Imprenta del Estado Lima 1901 [1607]
- GONZÁLEZ DE HOLGUÍN, Diego  
Vocabulario de la Lengua General de Todo el Perv. Llamada Lengua Qquichua, o del Inca, Compuesto por el Padre Diego Gonçález Holguín, de la compañía de Jesus, natural de Caçeres, ed. R. PORRAS BARRENECHEA, Edición del Instituto de Historia, Imprenta Santa María Lima 1952 [1608]
- GRIGÓRIEFF, Sergio  
Compendio del Idioma Quichua. Con notas detalladas sobre las particularidades del idioma en Santiago del Estero, Editorial Claridad, Buenos Aires 1935
- GRONDÍN N., Marcelo  
Método de Quechua. Runa Simi., Oruro, Bolivia 1971
- GUTIÉRREZ L., Julio G., Ed.  
Inka Rimay, Año 1, No. 1, órgano de la Academia Peruana de la lengua Quechua Cusco 1963
- HARDMAN, Martha  
 "Postulados lingüísticos del idioma aymara.", in Escobar" Lima 1972
- HARDMAN, M.J., VÁSQUEZ, YAPITA and BRIGGS, ENGLAND, MARTIN  
Aymara - Compendio de Estructura Fonológica y Gramatical, (Versión corregida y aumentada de Outline of Aymara Phonological and Grammatical Structure 1976), Instituto de Lengua y Cultura Aymara - La Paz, Bolivia, and the Gainesville Foundation, Inc., - Gainesville, Florida, ILCA, Univ./Florida 1988



- Bibliography -

- HARRIS, Zellig. S.  
Structural Linguistics, Univ./Chicago Press,  
 London 1951
- HERNÁNDEZ Alonso, César  
 "Las Categorías de Persona y Número en el Verbo Español", in  
Revista Española de Lingüística, vol.5' 121-137, órgano de la  
 Sociedad Española de Lingüística. Editorial Gredos,  
 Madrid 1975
- HERVEY, Sándor  
 "Sentences and Linguistic Data", La Linguistique, vol. 29 1990
- HOCKETT, Charles F.  
 "Problems of Morphemic Analysis" Language 23 1947
- HOCKETT, Charles F.  
 "Two models of grammatical description." Linguistics Today  
 New York 1954
- HOCKETT, Charles F.  
A Course in Modern Linguistics New York 1958
- HOGGARTH, Pauline  
Bilingualism in Calca, dept. of Cuzco, Perú. Ph.D. thesis  
 University of St. Andrews 1973
- HOWKINS, Douglas  
 "Paradigms in San Martín Quechua Phonology", Working Paper  
 no.1 Univ./St. Andrews, Centre for Latin-American Linguistic  
 Studies, St. Andrews 1973
- HUSSON, Jean-Philippe  
 'L'art poétique quechua dans la chronique de Felipe Waman Puma  
 de Ayala', Amerindia, revue ethno-linguistique amérindienne  
 vol.9, publié avec le concours du Centre National de la  
 Recherche Scientifique Paris 1984
- IBARRA Grasso, Dick E.  
Lenguas Indígenas de Bolivia, Librería - Editorial "Juventud"  
 La Paz 1992
- JAKE, Janice L. and Carmen CHUQUÍN  
 "Validation Suffixes in Imbabura Quechua", University of  
 Chicago Linguistics Society, Papers from the (15th) Regional  
Meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society vol.15 Chicago 1978
- JARA J., Fausto  
Morfología Quichua, Mundo Andino n.d. (1980?)



- Bibliography -

- JESPERSEN, Otto  
Efficiency in Linguistic Change, Second Edition, Ejnar  
Munksgaard Copenhagen 1949, Reprinted by Tutein + Koch  
Denmark, 1949 Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab,  
Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser XXVII, 4. 1949
- KASTOVSKY, Dieter  
"Zero in Morphology: a means of making up for phonological  
losses?", in Fisiak\*, 213-250 1980
- KHLEBNIKOVA, Irina  
Oppositions in Morphology as exemplified in the English tense-  
system., Janua Linguarum, Mouton, The Hague, Paris 1973
- KLEE, Carol A.  
"Spanish-Quechua Language Contact: the clitic pronoun system  
in Andean Spanish." Word, Journal of the International  
Linguistic Association, formerly Linguistic Circle of New  
York, vol 41, no.1 New York, April 1990
- KLEIN, H.E. Manelis and Louisa R. Stark  
South American Indian Languages - Retrospect and Prospect,  
University of Texas Press Austin 1987
- LARSEN, Helen  
"Some Grammatical Features of Legendary Narrative in Ancash  
Quechua.", in Brend\* 1974
- LASTRA, Yolanda  
Cochabamba Quechua Syntax, Mouton, The Hague, Paris 1968
- LEFEBVRE, Claire + Pieter MUYSKEN  
Relative Clauses in Cuzco Quechua: Interactions Between Core  
and Periphery, IULC, Bloomington, Indiana Jan 1982
- LEHMANN, Winfred P.  
Historical Linguistics. An Introduction, Holt, Rinehart and  
Winston, New York 1973
- LEVINSOHN, Stephen  
The Inga Language, Mouton. Janua linguarum, The Hague, Paris  
1976
- LIRA, Jorge A.  
"Fundamentos de la lengua Kkechuwa. Nociones Preliminares.",  
Waman Puma\*, Año III, vol. III, no. 15, Revista Nacional de  
Cultura y Folklore. Órgano del "Centro Cultural-Deportivo  
Waman Puma de Ayala". Cooperativa de Libros. Colegio Nacional  
de Ciencias. Cusco 1943
- LIRA, Jorge A.  
Breve Diccionario Kkechuwa español, Librería León, Edición  
popular, Cusco n.d.

- Bibliography -

- LOMBEIDA-Naranjo, Ernesto  
Ecuadorean Quechua Phonology. University of Texas at Austin  
1976
- LYONS, John, ed.  
New Horizons in Linguistics. Penguin Harmondsworth 1970
- MANNHEIM, Bruce  
"Una nación acorralada: Southern Peruvian Quechua language planning and politics in historical perspective.", Language in Society vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 291-309, CUP (printed in USA)  
Sep. 1984
- MANNHEIM, Bruce  
"Southern Peruvian Quechua", in Klein and Stark\* Austin 1987
- MANNHEIM, Bruce  
"Contact and Quechua-External Genetic Relationships in Klein and Stark" Austin 1987
- MANOLIU, M.  
"Remarks on the Grammaticizing of verbs in the Romance Languages.", Revue de Linguistique, Tome VI, no. 2, Éditions de l'académie de la République populaire romane, Ed. Iorgu Iordan, Bucarest 1961
- MARKHAM, Clements R.  
Contributions towards a Grammar and Dictionary of Quichua, The Language of the Incas of Peru. Biblio Verlag  
Osnabrück 1972 [1864]
- MARKHAM, Sir Clements KCB  
General Language of the Incas of Peru, Williams and Norgate, London 1908
- MATISOFF, James A.  
"The Grammar of Lahu", University of California Publications in Linguistics, vol. 75 1973
- MIDDENDORF, Ernst W.  
Gramática Keshua, trad. More, Cultura e Historia. Aguilar Madrid [Leipzig] 1970 [1890]
- MIDDENDORF, Ernst W.  
WÜRTERBUCH DES RUNA SIMI ODER KESHUA\*SPRACHE UNTER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG DER FRÜHEREN WERKE NACH EIGENEN STUDIEN  
BEARBEITET VON DR... , FA Brockhaus, Leipzig 1890
- MOSSI, Honorio  
"Ensayo sobre las Escelencias y Perfección del Idioma llamado comunmente quichua." (1-66) sep. nos., Inka Rimay, Imprenta de López, Sucre 1857

- Bibliography -

- MUGICA, P. Camilo  
Aprenda el Quichua Gramática y vocabularios, Edita CICAME,  
 Prefectura Apostólica del Aguarico (Ecuador) 1967
- MULDER, Jan W. F.  
 "Linguistic sign, word and grammateme." La Linguistique,  
 Extrait, Presses Universitaires de France 1971
- MULDER, Jan W. F. and Sándor G. J. HERVEY  
The Strategy of Linguistics, Papers on the theory and  
 methodology of axiomatic functionalism. Scottish Academic  
 Press Edinburgh 1980
- MUYSKEN, Pieter  
 "Approaches to affix order", Linguistics 24, 629-643 1986
- NIDA, E. A.  
Morphology, The Descriptive Analysis of Words, Ann Arbor.  
 U/Michigan Press, [1946] 2nd edition 1949
- NÚÑEZ DEL PRADO, R P Fr Jose A.  
Elementos de Gramática incana o quechua, Arequipa 1927
- ORR, Carol and Robt. E. LONGACRE  
 "Proto Quechumaran", Language 44: 528-555 1968
- OSUNA, Rafael  
Introducción a la lírica prehispánica Quechua y Nahuatl,  
 Librería Editorial Salesiana, Caracas, Venezuela 1968
- PALMER, L. R.  
The Latin Language, Faber and Faber, London 1954
- PIDAL, R. Menéndez  
Manual de Gramática Histórica Española ESPASA-CALPE, 14th ed.  
 Madrid 1973 [1904]
- PARKER, Gary J.  
 "La Clasificación Genética de los Dialectos Quechuas", Revista  
 del Museo Nacional Tomo XXXII, pp. 241-252, trad. A. Escobar  
 Lima 1963
- PARKER, Gary J.  
Gramática del Quechua Ayacuchano, trans.: A. Escribens, UNMSM,  
 PFL, Lima 1965
- PARKER, Gary J.  
 "Fonología y morfofonémica del Quechua de Caraz", in Cerrón-  
 Palomino, Creider, Escobar and Parker\*, 25-40 1967
- PARKER, Gary J.  
 "Comparative Quechua Phonology and Grammar I: Classification

- Bibliography -

- Working Papers in Linguistics, Dept. of Linguistics,  
University of Hawaii. vol.1, No.1 Honolulu 1969
- PARKER, Gary J.  
"Huaylas Quechua Phonology: A Preliminary Generative Statement  
Using Markedness Theory." Working Papers in Linguistics,  
Vol.2, No.4, University of Hawaii Honolulu May 1970
- PARKER, Gary J.  
"Comparative Quechua Phonology and Grammar V: The Evolution of  
Quechua B", Working Papers in Linguistics, Dept. of  
Linguistics, University of Hawaii. vol.3, no.3 Honolulu 1971
- PARKER, Gary J.  
"Falacias y verdades acerca del Quechua", in El Reto,<sup>10</sup>  
Lima 1972
- PARKER, Gary J.  
"Derivación Verbal en el Quechua de Ancash", Documento de  
Trabajo. no.25, UNMSM, CILA (Centro de Investigación de  
Lingüística Aplicada) dic 1973
- PARKER, Gary J.  
Gramática Quechua: Ancash-Huailas, Ministerio de Educación,  
Instituto de Estudios Peruanos Lima 1976
- PERROUD, Pedro C.  
Gramática Quechwa, Dialecto de Ayacucho, 2nd ed., revisado por  
el Dr. Teodoro oMeneses, Seminario San Alfonso, Santa Clara  
Lima 1961
- PORRAS BARRENECHEA, Raúl  
"Prólogo" to González Holguín, 1608\* 1952
- POTTIER, Bernard, ed.  
América Latina en sus lenguas Indígenas., Coordinación,  
Presentación y Documentación., UNESCO. Monte Avila Editores,  
Caracas, Venezuela 1983
- POTTIER, Bernard  
"Perspectiva Histórica", in Pottier\* 1983
- PROGRAMA INTERAMERICANO DE LINGÜÍSTICA Y ENSEÑANZA DE IDIOMAS  
El Simposio de Cartagena, Agosto de 1963. Informes y  
comunicaciones, Instituto Caro y Cuervo, Bogotá 1965
- PROULX, Paul  
"Proto Quechua Person Suffixes", IJAL vol.35., no.1, USA 1969
- PULTE, Wm.  
"Gapping and Word Order in Quechua", Univ. Texas at Austin,  
Univ. Chicago Linguistics Society vol.7 1971

- Bibliography -

- QUESADA, F.  
Gramática Quechua: Cajamarca-Cañaris, Ministerio de Educación,  
IEP, Lima 1976
- RÁEZ, Fr. J. F. M.  
Gramática del idioma de Ayacucho, Tip. Diocesana - Portal  
Universidad Ayacucho 1927
- RAURICH, R. P. Santiago  
Elementos de Gramática Quechua ó idioma de los incas, Colegio  
de Propaganda Fide de Sta. Ana de Sucre, Imprenta "La  
Glorieta" Sucre, Bolivia 1901
- ROCA Pons, José  
Estudios Sobre Perífrasis Verbales del Español, Revista de  
Filología Española. Anejo LXVII Madrid 1958
- RODRÍGUEZ, Mariano C.  
Gramática de la lengua quechua, 3rd ed., Lima 1939
- ROJAS Rojas, Íbico  
Expansión de Quechua, primeros contactos con el castellano,  
Ediciones Signo, Lima 1978
- ROSS, Ellen M.  
Introduction to Ecuadorean Highland Quichua or Quichua in Ten  
Easy Lessons, in memoriam Mrs. Joseph Dickay Quito 1963
- ROWE, John Howland  
"Sound Patterns in Three Inca Dialects", IJAL, vol. 16, no. 3,  
pp. 137-148 1950
- ROWE, John H. and Gabriel Escobar M.  
"Los Sonidos Quechuas de Cuzco y Chanca", Inka Rimay pp. 51-68  
1963
- RUDES, Blair A.  
"The functional development of the verbal suffix +esc+ in  
Romance.", in Fisiak\*, pp. 327-248 1980
- SOCIEDADES BÍBLICAS EN AMÉRICA LATINA, (trans. L. HOGGARTH)  
Señorninchis Jesucristoq Mosoq Rimanakuynin / El Nuevo  
Testamento en Quechua de Cuzco y en Español (Versión Popular),  
Lima 1969
- SOLÁ, Donald F.  
Gramática del Quechua de Huánuco (Ph.D. thesis, 1958),  
translated A. Escribens, UNMSM, Plan de Fomento Lingüístico,  
Lima 1967
- SOLÁ, Donald F.  
Spoken Cuzco Quechua. Units 7-12, Univ. Cornell, Academy of  
Quechua "Yachay Wasi" 1970

- Bibliography -

- SOLÁ, Donald F.  
 "Where is the Quechua Verb Phrase?", in Language in Global Perspective (ed. Benjamin F. Elson) Dallas 1986
- SOLÁ, Donald F. and Antonio CUSIHUAMÁN G.  
Quechua hablado del Cuzco. Nueva Edición. Primer Libro., Univ. Cornell. Latin American Studies Program, Nov. 1975
- SOMMER, Bruce A.  
 "Syllable Universals : an empirical observation." University of Hawaii, WFL No. 1, Dept. Linguistics, University of Hawaii Honolulu 1969
- SOTO Ruiz, Clodoaldo  
Gramática Quechua: Ayacucho-Chanca IEP Lima 1976
- SOTO Ruiz, Clodoaldo  
Quechua Manual de Enseñanza, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Serie: Lengua y Sociedad: 4 Lima 1979
- SPENST, E. K., I. P. SPENST, Betsy WRISLEY, G. J. SHERMAN:  
 "Quechua", in Gramáticas Estructurales de lenguas bolivianas I. Quechua, Guaraní, Sirionó. 1-118, Instituto Lingüístico de Verano (ILV) en colaboración con el Min. de Asuntos Campesinos y el Min. de Bellas Artes, Oficalía<sup>mica</sup> Mayor de Cultura, Dirección Nacional de Antropología, Riberalta, Beni, Bolivia Oct. 1965
- TAYLOR, Gérald  
Le Parler Quechua d'Olto, Amazonas (Pérou) Phonologie, Esquisse grammaticale, textes., Société d'études linguistiques et anthropologiques de France. SELAF, Langues et Civilisations à tradition orale - 11, Paris 1975
- TAYLOR, Gérald  
 "Les Deux Frères. Conte quechua de la Jalca, (Amazonas, Pérou), Amerindia, no. 2, 138-161 1977
- TAYLOR, Gérald, ed.  
Rites et Traditions de Huarochirí: manuscrit quechua du début du 17<sup>me</sup> siècle l'Harmattan Paris 1980
- TAYLOR, Gérald  
 "énoncés exprimant la possession et l'obligation en quechua", Amerindia, no. 6, 85-94 1981
- TAYLOR, Gérald  
 'Yauyos: un microcosmo dialectal quechua', Revista Andina año. 2, no. 1, Cusco 1984
- TAYLOR, Gérald  
 'Un documento quechua de Huarochirí - 1607', Revista Andina año. 3, no. 1, Cusco 1985

- Bibliography -

- STO. TOMÁS, Fr. Domingo de  
Grammatica o arte de la lengua general de los Indios de los Reynos del Peru. Nueuamente compuesta, por el Maestro Fray Domingo de Santo Thomas, De la orden de S. Domingo, Morador en los dichos Reynos. Valladolid. Francisco Fernandez de Cordoua. Univ. San Marcos, reproduccion facsimilar. prólogo por Raúl Porras Barrenechea. Publicaciones del Cuarto Centenario.  
 Lima 1951 [15601]
- STO. TOMÁS, Fr. Domingo de  
Lexicon o Vocabulario de la lengua general del Peru llamada quichua. por Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás. - Reproducción facsimilar, Univ. San Marcos. Publicaciones del Cuarto Centenario.  
 Lima 1951 [15601]
- TORERO, Alfredo  
 "Los Dialectos Quechuas", Separata de Anales Científicos de la Universidad Agraria vol. II no. 4, 446-478, Lima 1964
- TORERO, Alfredo  
 "Lingüística e historia de la sociedad andina", in El Reto\*,  
 Lima 1972
- TORERO, Alfredo  
El Quechua y la historia social andina, Universidad Ricardo Palma, Dirección Universitaria de Investigación, Lima 1974
- TORERO, Alfredo  
 "La Familia Lingüística Quechua.", in Pottier\*, 61-92 1983
- TSCHUDI, J. J. von  
Die Kechua-Sprache, Dritte Abtheilung, Wörterbuch. aus der Kaiserlich - Königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei Wien 1853
- TOUMI, Sybille  
 "'Y rester" ou "S'en sortir"?, Latin American Indian Literatures, Revista Andina 2, 7-24
- URIOSTE, George L.  
Chay Simire Caymi. The Language of the Manuscript of Huarochiri., Univ. Cornell. Latin American Studies Program, Dissertation Series no. 79 May 1973
- URIOSTE, Jorge and Joaquín HERRERO S.I.  
Gramática de la lengua quechua y vocabulario quechua-castellano castellano-quechua de las voces más usuales., Editorial "Canasta", La Paz - Cochabamba 1955
- VALDERRAMA Fernández, Ricardo and Carmen ESCALANTE Gutiérrez  
Gregorio Condori Mamani Autobiografía., Biblioteca de la tradición oral andina - 2, centro de estudios rurales andinas "bartolomé de las Casas", 2nd. ed. Cusco 1982 [1977]



- Bibliography -

- WEBER, David John  
Relativization and Nominalized Clauses in Huállaga (Huánuco) Quechua., U/Calif Publications, Lx, vol.103, Univ. California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, California; London, England  
1983
- WEBER, David J. and Peter N. LANDERMAN  
"On the Interpretation of Long Vowels in Quechua", IJAL  
vol.51, no.1, pp.94-108  
1985
- WÖLCK, Wolfgang  
"Las lenguas mayores del Perú y sus hablantes", in Escobar\*  
Lima 1972
- WÖLCK, Wolfgang  
Pequeño Breviario Quechua, IEP, Serie: Lengua y Sociedad - 8  
IEP Ediciones  
Lima 1987
- WONDERLY, Wm. L.  
"Semantic Components in Kechua Person Morphemes" Language,  
vol. 28, 366-376  
1952
- WRISLEY, Betsy H.  
"Enablement in Bolivian Quechua Narratives.", M.A. thesis,  
Univ. Cornell  
1981
- YÁÑEZ, Consuelo and Fausto JARA  
Ñukanchik llaktapak Shimi II, Ediciones Universidad Católica.  
Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador. Instituto de  
lenguas y lingüística  
Quito 1975
- YOKOYAMA, Masako  
"Outline of Kechua Structure I: Morphology", reprinted from  
Language vol.27, no.1, pp.38-67  
Jan-Mar 1951
- ed. ZÚÑIGA C., Madeleine  
Cuentos y Tradiciones en Quechua., (para expresión oral en  
quechua en Primer y Segundo Grados), Univ. San Marcos. Centro  
de Investigación de Lingüística Aplicada, Programa  
Experimental Bilingüe.  
Ayacucho 1979